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# HORUS IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SEMITICS)

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BY

THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN

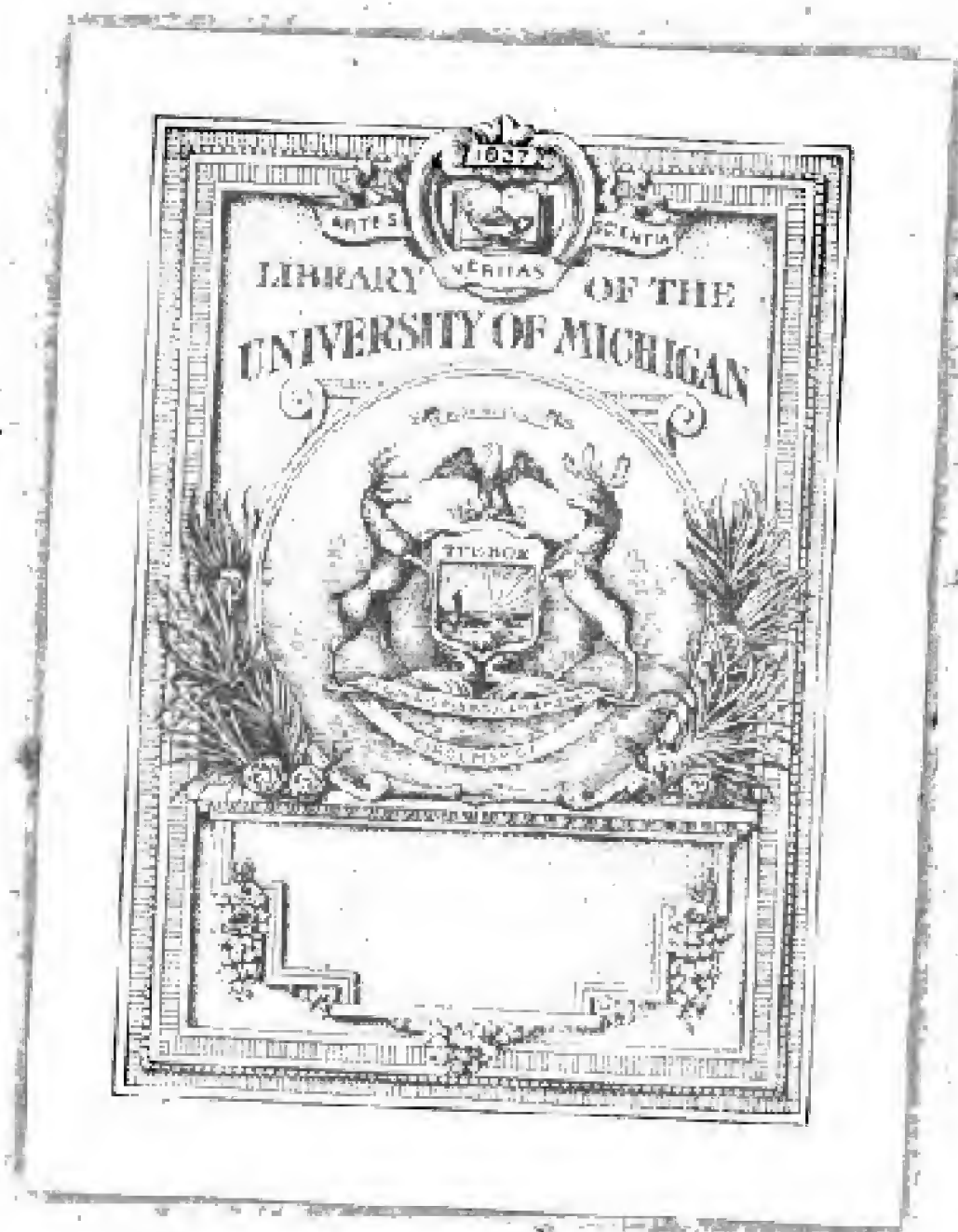
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TO  
MY PARENTS

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## PREFACE

During my studies at the University of Chicago I have become deeply indebted to various members of the Semitic faculty: Messrs. Price, Willett, J. M. P. Smith, Luckenbill. To Professor Breasted in particular, under whom all the work in my principal subject has been done, I owe thanks not only for the stimulus imparted in his classes and for the use of his Pyramid Texts manuscript, but also for the inspiration of close personal contact and friendship.

THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN

CHICAGO  
1915



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## INTRODUCTION

In a group of five pyramids at Sakkara, the tombs of Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty pharaohs of Egypt who ruled from about 2650 to 2475 B.C., is preserved the largest body of inscriptions known anywhere from that remote age. These mortuary and religious texts not only present through their allusions an invaluable commentary on early Egyptian civilization, but they reveal the earliest discernible phases of man's thoughts on the great problems of cosmic origin and human destiny. Their separate elements prove upon examination to have been composed under varying circumstances by which some portions can be dated as early as the predynastic age before the Delta was conquered by the Southland under Menes and the Two Lands thus finally united into one nation. But varying conceptions had already been so thoroughly amalgamated that the vicissitudes through which originally local beliefs and cults had passed are, it would seem, untraceable. It was to facilitate such progress as may, however, be possible along this line, that I at first planned to segregate and classify all references to all the deities mentioned in the Pyramid Texts.

The immediate requisite was a translation of the documents. Maspero's pioneer text, and with it many of his interpretations,<sup>1</sup> had been superseded by the new text edition of Sethe,<sup>2</sup> which appeared in 1908-10. The latter had autographed a preliminary translation with his text as previously transcribed for the monumental Berlin Dictionary of the Egyptian language, which has been in course of preparation by the four great academies of Germany since 1897. Another independent translation, based on the new text, but also preliminary, and in manuscript only, except for quotations used in his volume, had been made by Professor Breasted in preparation for the Morse Lectures which he delivered in 1912.<sup>3</sup> Using this latest translation as a guide, and with constant comparison of kindred

<sup>1</sup> Published first serially in *Rec. de Trav.*, then together as *Les Inscriptions des pyramides de Saqqarah*. Paris, 1894.

<sup>2</sup> *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums neu herausgegeben und erläutert von Kurt Sethe*. Leipzig, 1908-10. The *Erläuterungen* have not yet appeared.

<sup>3</sup> Published under title of *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. New York, 1912.



elements, I then made for myself a complete version of the Pyramid Texts.

All occurrences of divine names and epithets were next listed. Differentiation of independent deities from the mass proved a rather arbitrary matter. Not only do various types of supernatural beings appear, from the great cosmic powers down to representatives of the animal and vegetable world,<sup>4</sup> geographic incarnations,<sup>5</sup> and even inanimate objects,<sup>6</sup> but epithets or apparent epithets often stand in place of names. It was finally decided to consider primarily:

1. Terms regularly used as principal designation of well-known deities.

2. Terms apparently used as principal designation of less-known deities, whether traceable to epithetical origin<sup>7</sup> or not.

3. Names of celestial bodies, animals, and serpents, appearing as supernatural agents.

The following classes were among those set aside:

1. Group-designations.

2. Names of barques and crowns (unless supernatural serpent-element be involved).

3. Terms whose formation or use suggests merely epithetical function, whether or not the deity to whom they apply be determinable. Two special types of this class are: (a) epithets in form of prepositional phrases; (b) epithets used as mystic names only.

An index of all occurrences in the Pyramid Texts of divine names selected on the foregoing basis forms an appendix to this dissertation.

With the excessive wealth of material which even this selected list revealed, the original plan was, however, found to be too comprehensive for the purposes of a thesis. The god Horus, then, or rather the group of Horuses, has formed the main subject of investigation for the present.<sup>7a</sup>

In arriving at the translations which lie back of the Horuscitations, it became painfully evident that, apart from their archaic character, the Pyramid Texts, though engraved for the king himself, are by no means free from the textual corruptions so common in later

<sup>4</sup> E.g., serpents, *knmw-t*-bird, *y³m-* and *nbb*-trees of Pyr. 808, etc.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., *Ymn-t*, "the West," in Pyr. 282 and 284.

<sup>6</sup> E.g., the Northern crown under various names in Pyr. 196.

<sup>7</sup> As e.g., *Dhwtj*, *Nbb-k³-w*, *Hnty-gmntj-w*.

<sup>7a</sup> G. Van der Leeuw's more general study of the *Godsvoorstellingen in de oudaegyptische pyramidetexten* (Leiden, Brill, 1916) came to my attention while my own work was in the press.



days. The signs *k* and *nb* are often confused,<sup>8</sup> but fortunately cause little difficulty. Dittography<sup>9</sup> or omission<sup>10</sup> of even whole phrases appears; sometimes even one element of a pun is lost.<sup>11</sup> Again, just as the pointing has occasionally obscured the sense of a Hebrew passage, wrong determinatives have sometimes found a place in these pyramid copies of more ancient texts.<sup>12</sup> More serious corruptions occur, such as that of *T<sup>3</sup>y·t* in Pyr. 2074 (cf. 1794), where the parallelism of two or more bits of text is not so readily discoverable or where no parallel exists. To such scribal errors as these are probably due many of the passages which now defy translation.

Accurate interpretation is made difficult also by the fact that personal pronouns are often used ambiguously; and, worst of all, the being to whom a pronoun refers may even be left entirely unnamed,<sup>13</sup> so that the reader naturally connects the pronoun with the last suitable noun preceding, until some parallel phrase is noticed which reveals his error.

Through the grouping together of like statements in this dissertation and in contemplated future treatment of other gods besides Horus, textual criticism may, it is hoped, be somewhat assisted; but the primary effort has been to set down the tenor of the texts as they now stand.<sup>14</sup>

The solar element in Horus clearly predominates. The only Horuses named in as many as five Pyr. paragraphs are:

	Number of Paragraphs
1. Harakhte . . . . .	30
2. <i>Hr šmty</i> . . . . .	11?
3. Eastern Horus . . . . .	10
4. Horus of Dewat . . . . .	9
5. Horus of the Gods . . . . .	7
6. <i>Hr špd</i> . . . . .	5?

<sup>8</sup> E.g., Pyr. 2075.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Pyr. 829 with 836.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Pyr. 385P.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., Pyr. 51cW.

<sup>12</sup> Certainly so, for example, in one of the texts of Pyr. 1227 (F 97) and in 21b; probably so in 472 (E 112).

<sup>13</sup> Certainly so in Pyr. 249 (F 153), cf. 614 (F 154); probably so in parts of the offering ritual, cf. F 106 ff.

<sup>14</sup> A detailed outline of the classification is included in the Table of Contents. The grouping of citations in the various subdivisions depends chiefly on alphabetic order of Egyptian key-words, in connection with sequence of paragraphs in Sethe's text. As the headings cannot be made mutually exclusive, cross-references to more extended statements are frequent. The king, whether representing Osiris or not, is treated independently; and, where the key-words are divine names, the king comes last.

Breasted<sup>16</sup> has already indicated the celestial nature of Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 5. Dewat too in this age is a quasi-celestial region,<sup>16</sup> and *Hr spd* in the Pyramid Texts is mentioned in celestial connections exclusively. The less common epithets of Horus are likewise largely celestial, as is his habitat.

On the other hand, the genealogy of Horus is almost as wholly Osirian as his physical nature is human. It is, however, stated that Horus, son of Osiris, is also son of Hathor;<sup>17</sup> *Hr spd* came forth from the king (= Osiris) and Isis-Sothis;<sup>18</sup> and the cloud-lord Orion, once called father of Horus,<sup>19</sup> is in Pyr. 819 identified with Osiris and is several times<sup>20</sup> connected with him. These few cases form but a slender link between the celestial Horus and the terrestrial Osiris; it must be noted too that the Orion connection is obtained only by moving Osiris skyward.

The most detailed myth traceable is that which records how Horus was born to Isis in Khemmis, fought with Set in his young manhood, and after recovering his eye,<sup>21</sup> which Set had taken and swallowed, bestowed it upon his father Osiris. The judicial proceedings which ensued at Heliopolis seem to have been a trial of Horus himself,<sup>22</sup> or again to have concerned the eye.<sup>23</sup> They resulted in any case in the defeat of Set.

Hostility between Horus and the dead appears in only three incidents: The king comes to Nut, having shaken off Horus behind him;<sup>24</sup> Re does not let Horus and Osiris gain control over the king's heart;<sup>25</sup> and one Horus warns away from the king's pyramid the protégés of another Horus, a comrade of Set, Osiris, etc.<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere, Horus is rather called upon to aid the dead king, not only by such offices as the myth assigned him on behalf of Osiris, but in many purely solar connections, especially noticeable in the sections on purification,<sup>27</sup> ascent,<sup>28</sup> deification,<sup>29</sup> and rule.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the celestial Horus

<sup>16</sup> *Development of Religion and Thought*, pp. 154 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Breasted, *op. cit.*, p. 144, n. 2.

<sup>17</sup> C 10.      <sup>18</sup> C 19.      <sup>19</sup> C 11.      <sup>20</sup> Pyr. 186, 882-83, 925, 959-60.

<sup>21</sup> A solar touch in Pyr. 670 (F 42) is that Horus "circled about 'in search of' his eye."

<sup>22</sup> G 44, 54.

<sup>23</sup> F 72, 48, 59, 100. On the judgment see also G 57-58.

<sup>24</sup> Pyr. 250 (C 72).

<sup>25</sup> Pyr. 145-46 (C 59; E 178-79).

<sup>26</sup> Pyr. 1264-74 (E 180-81).

<sup>27</sup> E 94 ff.

<sup>28</sup> E 108 ff.

<sup>29</sup> E 121 ff.

<sup>30</sup> E 142-45; note also E 150, 160, 166, 170, 173.



is utilized in magic rites: "charms of Harakhte" must be learned;<sup>31</sup> Re and Horus together are involved in a serpent-charm;<sup>32</sup> and Horus, Isis, and Atum restrain a (celestial?) bull (from harming the king).<sup>33</sup>

The actual god might not be present to assist the dead. But he was in many cases impersonated by the officiating priest. Parallel to the instances<sup>34</sup> in which Horus is said to bestow his eye (representing various offerings) upon the king are others in which an unnamed "I" (presumably the priest) likewise presents the eye of Horus.<sup>35</sup> The king is here regularly called Osiris. This "I" occasionally calls himself "Horus"<sup>36</sup> and even "thy son Horus."<sup>37</sup> So the Osirian relationship of father and son was re-enacted between the participants in the mortuary ritual.

As the priest's services for the dead symbolized those of Horus for his father Osiris, so the eye of Horus, the gift of which was involved in the myth, was first transformed into a symbol for any form of mortuary offering.<sup>38</sup> Then the mortuary functions of Horus were delegated to his eye in its various capacities: the eye could avenge the deceased, help him ascend, etc., as had Horus himself.<sup>39</sup> The eye of Horus was further identified with the sun,<sup>40</sup> and, like Horus himself, endowed with human form.<sup>41</sup> Lastly, the deceased king's own person, so often identified with Horus, became identified likewise with the magic Horus-eye.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Pyr. 855-56 (D 223).

<sup>32</sup> Pyr. 673 (D 249).

<sup>33</sup> Pyr. 1302 (D 151).

<sup>34</sup> Summarized in E 176.

<sup>35</sup> See F 228 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Pyr. 698N (F 280), either an instance of identification of Re and Horus or a further case of the eye assuming place originally belonging to Horus himself.

<sup>37</sup> Pyr. 2088 and 2090 (F 318-19).

<sup>38</sup> F 130.

<sup>39</sup> F 214-21.

<sup>40</sup> Pyr. 11 and 905.

<sup>41</sup> Pyr. 69.

<sup>42</sup> See summary after F 423.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Arabic numbers cited alone or following the word "Pyr." refer to the paragraphs in Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, corresponding also to the *Zettel*-numbers of the Berlin Dictionary. Small letters occasionally following these numbers indicate individual lines of Sethe's paragraphs. The capital letters W, T, P, M, and N sometimes added are conventional abbreviations for the names of the builders of the respective pyramids; they serve to distinguish parallel texts. To avoid confusion, no citations have been made by *Spruch*-numbers.

Arabic numbers preceded by one of the capital letters A-H refer to other portions of the thesis itself.

Titles of books and periodicals are, it is thought, cited with sufficient fulness. Where Breasted is quoted without a title following, reference is to his manuscript translation of the Pyramid Texts.

Egyptian words (in italics) are transliterated as in modern German treatises, except that the two signs *i* and *j* have both been replaced by *y*.

[ ] indicates restoration.

' ' indicates uncertainty.

( ) indicates explanatory additions by the author.

- indicates construct relation or compound preposition.

• separates formative elements of words.

—represents each word lost, up to five words.

——— represents more than five words lost.

... is sometimes inserted to mark omitted portions of a phrase.



# HORUS IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

## OCCURRENCES OF THE NAME

See *Hrw* in Appendix.

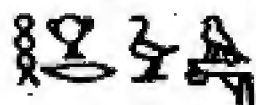
### FORMS



except in the following cases:



in W only, in 18, 58-60, 64, 72, 73, 76-81, 83-87, 91, 94, 95, 97-100, 115, 304, 487.



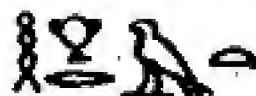
in M only, in 1686 and 1690; may not be Horus.



dual, in 457W and 695TN.<sup>a</sup>



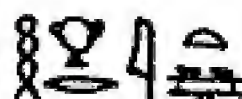
nisbe fem. pl., in 487WN, 598PN, 770PMN, 961PMN, 1735N, 1928N, 2099N.



nisbe fem. pl., in 943N.



nisbe fem. pl., in 598T.



nisbe fem. pl., in 943PM.

<sup>a</sup> Cf.



(*Hr·wy-mš*) as n. pr. in *Aeg. Inschriften aus den k. Museen zu Berlin*, II, 318. *Hr·wy* occurs also on a Ptolemaic stela published by Touraieff in *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXVI, 72; this is clearly *not* a writing of Atum as assumed in the review in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, p. 26. That *Hr·wy* represents two separate gods is indicated in the latter case by the deceased lady's epithet *š·hlp·t nfr·wy*.

## CLASSIFIED REFERENCES

\* Not directly dependent on the name Horus.

## A. Epithets—

- 1  $\text{3w-nmt} \cdot t$ , "long-striding." \*853(D 2)
- 2  $y^3bt_y$ , "eastern."<sup>48</sup> 450(C 73, D 28), 527 (D 46), 982(D 48), 1085(D 34), 1087(C 127), 1132(D 49), 1258(C 51), 1410(D 47), 1414(D 66), 1478 (D 11, D 124)
- 3  $y^3ht_y$ , "of the horizon."<sup>48</sup> 4(D 42), 7(H 2), 337(D 31, D 36), 342(D 35), \*346(C 35), 348(C 58), 351(D 32, D 36), \*353(D 44), 358(D 32, D 36), 360(D 38), 526(D 46), 855-56(D 223), 891P(D 57), 926(D 32), 927(D 37), \*928(D 44), 932(D 32), 933(D 37), \*934(D 44), 1049(D 60), \*1085(D 34), 1087(C 127), 1103(D 33), 1384(H 9), 1411(D 47), 1415(D 66), 1449 (E 148), 1478(D 11, D 124), 1693(C 57, B 9)
- 4  $yw^c \cdot yt \cdot f$ , "heir of his father." 316(D 7, G 54)
- 5  $ymy Ysyrt^a X$ , "(dweller) in Osiris X (king's name)." 19a(F 43), 21b(F 63), 55(F 43, F 77), 831(F 43)
- 6  $ym(y) \cdot w(y) \cdot h$ , "(dwellers) in the palace,"<sup>49</sup> epithet of Horus and Set. \*141(D 113)
- 7  $ymy w^3d wr$ , "(dweller) in the great green (sea)." 1505(C 83)
- 8  $ymy wsh \cdot t$ , "(dweller) in the broad hall." 905(E 90)
- 9  $ymy byk \cdot w$ , "(dweller) among the falcons." \*1672(E 164)
- 10  $ymy pr \cdot f$ , "(dweller) in his house."<sup>48</sup> 1294(D 194)
- 11  $ymy Spd \cdot t$ , "(dweller) in Sothis." 632 and 1636(B 6)
- 12  $ymy Db^c \cdot hrw \cdot t$ , "(dweller) in  $Db^c \cdot hrw \cdot t$ ." \*734(D 108)
- 13  $nh$ , "living."<sup>49</sup> 1807
- 14  $nh \cdot h^c \cdot w$ , "living of dawnings," Horus-name of Mernere. 7, 8
- 15  $w^3d \cdot wy$ , "green," epithet of  $Hr \cdot wy$ , dual.<sup>50</sup> 457(H 4)
- 16  $w^3d^3d$ , "bright green (bird)," an aspect of  $Hr Dw^3ty$ . 1207(D 61)
- 17  $w^c$ , "sole one."<sup>51</sup> \*853(D 2), \*854

<sup>48</sup> Possibly this god is meant by  $nb \cdot y^3b \cdot t$ , "lord of the East," in 1486.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. pl. in 1155. A god called  $nh \cdot m \cdot y^3b \cdot t$ , "he who lives in the horizon," is mentioned in 151.

<sup>50</sup> The old readings of Osiris and Isis with prosthetic  $y$  (Erman, *Glossar*, p. 16) are retained for convenience, though Erman has since shown (*Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, XLVI, 92) that name of former began with  $w$  and was probably either  $Wiry$  or  $Wt-yry$ , while for Isis he now (*Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> *Schrifttafel* Q 1) gives  $st \cdot t$ .

<sup>51</sup> Cf. 598(D 82). The reading  $h$  for "palace" appears most clearly in Pyr. 141 and 585. It was accepted by Erman in 1912 (*Die Hieroglyphen*, p. 32).

<sup>52</sup> Applied to Min in 1993(C 105).

<sup>53</sup> Cf.  $nh$  as son of Sothis in 458 and 1482P (MN have  $ny \cdot nh$ );  $nh \cdot m \cdot y^3b \cdot t$ , "him who lives in the horizon," a god otherwise unnamed in 151; and  $sb^3 \cdot nh \cdot hnty \cdot in \cdot w \cdot f$ , "the living star presiding over his brothers," with whom king is compared in 904.

<sup>54</sup> Cf.  $w^3d \cdot pr \cdot m \cdot W^3d \cdot t$ , "green one who came forth from (the goddess) Buto," in vocative in 1875.

<sup>55</sup> Cf.  $w^c$ , epithet of king as  $k^3 \cdot n \cdot p \cdot t$ , "bull of the sky," in 293;  $w^c \cdot pn \cdot dd \cdot r^c \cdot nb$ , "this one who endures every day," used of some solar divinity in 1078;  $nb \cdot w^c$ , "the sole lord," perhaps applying to  $k^3 \cdot Nhn$ , "the bull of Hieraconpolis," in 276;  $hrv \cdot w^c \cdot f$ , "him who is by himself," a solar divinity in 309.



A. Epithets—

- 18 *wr (y)m(y) Ywnw*, "great one (dwelling) in Heliopolis," epithet of *Hr·wy*, dual.<sup>12</sup> 695(H 5)
- 19 *wr pn*, "this great one."<sup>13</sup> \*103(F 425), \*583
- 20 *wr s<sup>3</sup>-wr*, "great one, son of a great one." \*852(G 27)<sup>14</sup>
- 21 *b<sup>3</sup> ymy dšr·f*, "soul (dwelling) in his blood." \*854(D 55)
- 22 *byk ntry*, "divine falcon," an aspect of *Hr Dw<sup>3</sup>ty*. 1207(D 61)
- 23 *pr m H<sup>c</sup>py*, "he who came forth from the Nile." \*2047(C 79)
- 24 *pr m šnt*, "he who came forth from the šnt-serpent." 681(C 80)
- 25 *pr m šnd*, "he who came forth from the acacia." \*436(G 50)
- 26 *mryy-t<sup>3</sup>-wy*, "beloved of the Two Lands," Horus-name of Pepi I. 6,<sup>15</sup> 7
- 27 *mhty*, "northern." 1295(D 88)
- 28 transliteration and translation uncertain; form below. 1863(C 104)



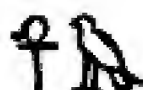
- 29 *ny-šw·t-ntr·w*, "king of the gods." 1458(E 123)
- 30 *nb-y<sup>3</sup>h·t*, "lord of the horizon," epithet of Harakhte.<sup>16</sup> \*7b
- 31 *nb-w<sup>3</sup>d*, "lord of the green (cosmetic?)." 457(D 24)
- 32 *nb-p·t*, "lord of the sky."<sup>17</sup> 888(D 5)
- 33 *nb-p·t*, "lord of the sky," epithet of Harakhte. 7b
- 34 *nb-p<sup>c</sup>·t*, "lord of men." 14(E 86), 737(F 149), 1258(C 51), 1804(E 146)
- 35 *nb-p<sup>c</sup>·t ntr·w*, "lord of men and gods." 895(C 99)
- 36 *nb-m<sup>3</sup>k·t*, "lord of the ladder."<sup>18</sup> \*974, \*980(D 183)
- 37 *nb-t<sup>3</sup>-wy*, "lord of the Two Lands." 1258(C 51)
- 38 *nb-df<sup>3</sup>·w*, "lord of food," epithet of *Hr·wy*, dual. 695(H 5)
- 39 *Nhny*, "of Hieraconpolis."<sup>19</sup> 295-96(D 236), 1293(E 98, D 194), 2011 (E 141)
- 40 *nhn hrd*, "young, child." 1320(C 49)
- 41 *ntr*, "god." \*971, \*974-75(D 252),<sup>20</sup> \*978-80(D 253), \*1863(C 104)
- 42 *ntr·w*, "of the gods." 525(D 46), 981(D 48), 986(D 65), 999(D 39), 1086(D 34), 1408(D 47), 1412(D 66)
- 43 *ntr<sup>c</sup>·3*, "great god." \*[70](F 427)

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *ymy Ywnw*, "(dweller) in Heliopolis," a magical name applied to king in 181. In 716 king is identified with *k<sup>3</sup>-Ywnw*, "the bull of Heliopolis."

<sup>13</sup> *Wr pn* is applied to king as Osiris in 777-78, 1796.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. 853b and 2032. *Wr* = Geb in 1702.

<sup>15</sup> Restore



in the break; cf. Pyr. 7a and *Urkunden des äg. Altertums*, I, 94:16.

<sup>16</sup> Occurs independently in 277, 409, 1172.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *nb-p·t* apparently equated with Osiris in 964-68.

<sup>18</sup> Dependent on *ntr*; for connection with Horus cf. 973b.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *k<sup>3</sup>-Nhny*, "the bull of Hieraconpolis," in 276.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. 973b with 974a.

## A. Epithets—

- 44 *ntr* '3, "great god," epithet of Harakhte.<sup>41</sup> \*7b  
 45 *ntr-h'w*, "god of dawns," Horus-name of Pepi II. 7, 8  
 46 *ntr smšw*, "first-born god," epithet of Horus son of Osiris. \*466(C 89)  
 47 *ntr·wy*, "the two gods," epithet of Horus and Set.<sup>42</sup> \*1148(C 69)  
 48 *ntr·wy ypw wr·w(y) '3·w(y)*, "these two great and powerful gods," epithet of Re and Horus.<sup>43</sup> \*952(C 110)  
 49 *ntr·wy '3·wy*, "the two great gods," epithet of Horus and Thoth.<sup>44</sup> \*1571(E 144)  
 50 *nd yt·f*, "he who avenged his father." 633 and 1637(B 8), 1685(E 74)  
 51 *nd yt·f Yšyr*,<sup>45</sup> "he who avenged his father Osiris." 898(C 102), 1406N (D 204)  
 52 *rw*, "lion."<sup>46</sup> \*436(G 50)  
 53 *'rp'ty*, "hereditary prince." 1458(E 123)  
 54 *rnpy*, "youthful." 25c and 767(E 17)  
 55 *rh špš·w-ntr*, "intimate of the worthies of the (Sun-)god." \*815PM  
 56 *ršw*, "southern." 1295(D 88)  
 57 *hwnty*, "he of the maiden (or 'pupil [of the eye]'?)".<sup>47</sup> 206(D 274)  
 58 *hry-yb Yrw*, "(dweller) within Yrw."<sup>48</sup> 723(D 93)  
 59 *hry-yb Dwš·t*, "(dweller) within Dewat." 1959(F 209)  
 60 *hry šdšd-p·t*, "upon the šdšd of the sky."<sup>49</sup> 800(D 51), 1036(D 52)  
 61 *hry-dšdš m·nh·t·f n·t mš 't*, "master of his sustenance of truth."<sup>50</sup> 815(E 114)  
 62 *hry-dšdš rh(y)·t·f*, "master of his people." 644(C 81)

<sup>41</sup> Is applied also to Osiris in 465 (G 13), Geb in 1616, Re in 1471, and an otherwise unnamed solar deity in 1208 (G 32).

<sup>42</sup> Dual *ntr·wy* without epithet occurs also in 273, 903.

<sup>43</sup> Same phrase occurs once more, in 1690 (D 264, cf. C 57).

<sup>44</sup> Same phrase occurs also in 467, 1125-26, 1253, 1738, 1750. [1985]. Cf. also *ntr·wy ypw '3·wy* in 1010.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. *rw* in 422 and 426, unintelligible; *pf rw* and *pn rw*, referring possibly to Horus and Set, in 425; and phrase *rw h' rw n 'nh*, "(one) lion (is) behind (another) lion for life," in 690. Horus is found wearing the lion-mask in 973 (D 234).

<sup>46</sup> The noun *hwn·t* itself occurs literally as "maiden" in 809 and '1487' and in *hwn·t wr·t hry·t-yb Ywnw*, "the great maiden (dwelling) within Heliopolis," in 728 and 2002; and figuratively as "pupil (of the eye)" in 93a (F 302) and '682'. Cf. also *hwr·t wr·t . . . hry·t-yb Nhš*, "the great *hwr·t* . . . (dwelling) within El Kab," in 2204a. Möller (*Über die in einem spät-hieratischen Papyrus des Berl. Mus. erhaltenen Pyramidentexte*, p. 23) suggests that this may be error for *hwn·t*; but *hwr·t wr·t* is represented by *šmš·t wr·t*, "the great wild cow," in the parallel text in 729a. May we understand that Horus is son of the maiden of Heliopolis?

<sup>47</sup> *Yrw* occurs again in 864: king's waters came from Elephantine, his *n(r)y*-natron from *Yrw*, his *hsmn*-natron from the Oxyrynchite nome, and his incense from Nubia (*tš st*); possibly also in 456a: "Sobk, '(my)' lord, 'soul of Yrw'" (or 'Sobk, lord of *H'yrw' t*).

<sup>48</sup> In 539a and 540a king ascends to sky upon the *šdšd* which is in the zenith (*ymy wp(w)·t*; latter written in full in 854c, where Breasted so translates it).

<sup>49</sup> In 1483 the offspring of Horus are said to live on truth (*'nh m mš 't*).



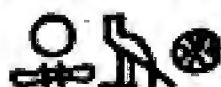
A. Epithets—

- 63 *Hm(y)*,<sup>70</sup> "of Letopolis." 2078(C 26)
- 64 *hnty y<sup>3</sup>h·w*, "presider over the spirits." 800(C 82), 1505(C 83), 1508(C 84), 1518(D 12)
- 65 *hnty n<sup>h</sup>·w*, "presider over the living." 2103(C 103)
- 66 *hnty pr·w*, "presider over estates."<sup>71</sup> 133c(C 61, D 4)
- 67 *hnty·wy pr·w*, "presiders over estates," epithet of *Hr·wy*, dual. 695(H 5)
- 68 *hnty mn·wt·f*, "presider over his 'thighs'" (cf. det. in 804).<sup>72</sup> 804PMN and 1015P(C 85)
- 69 *hnty mny·t·f*, "presider over his '—'."<sup>73</sup> 1015N and 1719M[N](C 86)
- 70 *hnty Hm*, "presider over Letopolis."<sup>74</sup> 810(D 1, G 55)
- 71 *hnty y·hm·w šk*, "presider over the imperishable ones," epithet of Horus of Dewat. 1301(D 3)
- 72 *hnty hnty šhm·w*, "presider presiding over the mighty." \*1294(D 194)
- 73 *hnty D(w)<sup>3</sup>·t*, "presider over Dewat."<sup>75</sup> 5b(D 72)
- 74 *ššbd yr·ty*, "blue-eyed." 253(E 11)
- 75 *Hšty*, "of *H<sup>3</sup>·t* (a city)." 1257N(C 87)<sup>76</sup>
- 76 *hrd n<sup>h</sup>n*, "the young child." 1214(G 3)
- 77 *hrd n<sup>h</sup>n db<sup>c</sup>·f m r<sup>3</sup>·f*, "the young child with his finger in his mouth." 663(D 292), 664(C 88)
- 78 *s<sup>3</sup> n<sup>d</sup> yt·f*, "the son who avenged his father." 633 and 1637(B 8)
- 79 *šš*, "sated." \*854
- 80 *šb<sup>3</sup> wpš p·t*, "the star that illumines the sky," applied to Horus (of Dewat).<sup>77</sup> \*362(D 45)

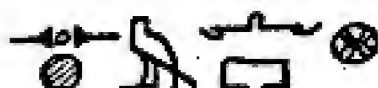
<sup>70</sup> Value *hm* is now assigned to



by Erman (*Gram.<sup>1</sup>, Schrifttafel O 74*). It is indicated by such spellings as



(Pyr. 1670aN) and



(Piankhi 11:6 = *Urkunden des äg. Altertums*, III, 46). The Piankhi passage makes Horus the "lord (nb)" of Letopolis.

<sup>71</sup> Occurs in throne-name of Amenhotep III on a granite column in British Museum, No. 64 (Budge, *Book of Kings*, I, 139). Cf. the *y<sup>3</sup>h·w-pr·w*, "house-spirits," in 842 whose purity comes in connection with Horus's purification of the king in 841(D 54). In 1881 *nb-pr*, "lord of the house," is an epithet of the king.

<sup>72</sup> Same epithet represents a god otherwise unnamed in 285T and 655TMN. In 1549P it is given to Osiris, while in 1552P it seems to belong with *Šsmw*.

<sup>73</sup> Same epithet represents an otherwise unnamed divinity in 285W.

<sup>74</sup> Same epithet appears independently in 419, 908, 1175, 1723.

<sup>75</sup> Same epithet represents an unnamed god with whom king is identified in 715. Cf. also a *nb·mr<sup>1</sup>·w D(w)šty·w*, "lord of the Dewat-lakes," in 1530.

<sup>76</sup> P has the older ambiguous writing *Ššty*.

<sup>77</sup> Same epithet represents a divinity with whom king is identified in the similar text 1455. In 1038 king ascends to sky as *šb<sup>3</sup> š<sup>1</sup> hrꜥ-ꜥb ꜥšb·t*, "the great star (dwelling) within the East"; in 904 king is compared with *šb<sup>3</sup> n<sup>h</sup> hnty šn·w·f*, "the living star presiding over his brothers"; in 1048 king is adorned as *šb<sup>3</sup> wšty hrꜥ-ꜥb Nw·t*, "the single star (dwelling) within Nut."

## A. Epithets—

- 81 *šb<sup>3</sup> d<sup>3</sup> w<sup>3</sup>d wr*, "the star that ferried over the great green (sea)," epithet of *Hr hnty y<sup>3</sup>h·w*. 1508(C 84)  
 82 *špd*, "the ready." 330W and 331T (latter *špd·t*) (C 112, D 73), 632 and 1636(C 40), \*1863<sup>1</sup>(C 104)<sup>78</sup>  
 83 *šmšw*, "the first-born."<sup>79</sup> 301(D 263)  
 84 *šhm m y<sup>3</sup>h·t*, "mighty over the horizon." \*853(D 2)  
 85 *šhm m' Nbtj*, "'mighty over' him of Ombos,"<sup>80</sup> used after name of Horus as a royal title, the whole written as below. 6-8, 786



- 86 *šhm m ntr·w*, "mighty over the gods." \*853(D 2)  
 87 *Škšn*, "—."<sup>81</sup> 1734(C 93)  
 88 *Št(y)*, "of Št·t (a city)." 450W(C 73, D 28), 1257P(C 87)<sup>82</sup>  
 89 *šn m s<sup>3</sup>-yr·t·f*, "he who went about in the protection of his eye." 195(C 92), 198(C 1, C 92)  
 90 *šmty*, "—."<sup>83</sup> \*342(D 35), 450(C 73, D 28), \*456<sup>1</sup>(D 155), 528(D 46), 983(D 48), 987(D 65), 1085(D 34), 1136(D 49), 1409(D 47), 1413(D 66), 2062(D 63)  
 91 *tp(y) yhm·wt*, "upon (or 'at the head of' ?) the *yhm·wt*." 1951  
 92 *tp(y) ndm·w št(y)*, "at the head of the sweet-smelling ones," epithet of *Hr hnty y<sup>3</sup>h·w*. 1518  
 93 *y·tm whm k<sup>3</sup>·t·f*, "not repeating his work." 1622(C 76)  
 94 *tmšty*, "the gleaming one."<sup>84</sup> 702(C 113)  
 95 *Dw<sup>3</sup>-ntr*, "Morning-star," an aspect of Horus of Dewat. \*1207(D 61)  
 96 *D(w)<sup>3</sup>ty*, "of Dewat."<sup>85</sup> 148(D 180), \*362(D 45), \*802(E 108), 877(C 114), 1134(D 49), 1207(D 61), 1258(C 51), 1301(D 3), 1734(C 93)  
 97 *dšr yr·ty*, "red-eyed." 253(E 11)  
 98 *dšr·t tpy·t R<sup>c</sup>*, "the red crown that is on the head of Re," epithet of *Hr tmšty*. 702(C 113)  
 99 *Db<sup>c</sup>-hrw·t*, "of *Db<sup>c</sup>-hrw·t* (a city)." 1993(C 105)

<sup>78</sup> *Hr špd* as a unit is everywhere in Pyr. written without the determinative



regularly found (as in 1863) with the independent divine name *Špd*.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. 309 and 313: the king, in 308 and 312 equated with Osiris, is in 309 identified with *hry w<sup>c</sup>·f*, "him who is by himself." The parallel text in 313 has instead *hry rd·f*, "him who is upon his foot." In both cases the god is called *šmšw-ntr·w*, "first-born of the gods," and is a solar divinity. Again in 306 the king, who seems to have become a solar Horus (cf. 304), is called *šmšw r wr*, "more first-born than the eldest."

<sup>80</sup> I.e., Set; cf. 204a.

<sup>81</sup> *Škšn* occurs as an independent divine name in '498', 1440, '2186'.

<sup>82</sup> N has the more exact *H<sup>3</sup>ty*.

<sup>83</sup> Fem. *šmty·t* is epithet of Sekhmet; cf. 262b and [2206].

<sup>84</sup> This root occurs also in 911, 1147, 1349, 1460. In 911 *tmš·t dšr·t* with Northern crown on basket as det. is "the bright red crown" (so Breasted). In 1147 king is *šd pw n tmš·wt*, "this band of 'bright' (colors)." In 1349 the divinity *H<sup>3</sup>by* is called *dšr-mšr tmš·r·t*, "with red ear and 'glistening jaw'." (On *r·t* as "jaw" cf. determinatives in Pyr. 30 and Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, II, 162.) In 1460 king is *nw n tmš·t*, "this 'brightness'" which came forth from 'Nun'.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *ymy D(w)<sup>3</sup>·t*, "dweller in Dewat," in 330T and 331W(D 73).



B. Magical or Mystic Names—

- 1  $y^3h ymy dndrw$ , "spirit (dwelling) in the  $dndrw$ -barque," used of  $Hr \acute{s}pd$ . 633, 1637
- 2  $ym(y) hnw$ , "(dweller) in the  $hnw$ -barque (Sokar's)." 138
- 3  $nwr \cdot w^{86} n \cdot f t^3 \acute{s}d^3 \cdot w n \cdot f p \cdot t$ , "he before whom earth quakes and the sky trembles." 143
- 4  $R^c$ , "Re," used of  $Hr \acute{S}t(y)$ ,  $Hr \acute{s}mt(y)$ , and Eastern Horus treated as one god. 452
- 5  $hnw$ , " $hnw$ -barque (Sokar's)." 620
- 6  $Hr ymy \acute{S}pd \cdot t$ , "Horus (dwelling) in Sothis," used of  $Hr \acute{s}pd$ . 632, 1636
- 7  $Hr b^3y \cdot t \cdot rp \cdot t$ , "Horus, '—' of the  $rp \cdot t$ -chapel."<sup>87</sup> 767
- 8  $Hr s^3 nd yt \cdot f$ , "Horus, the son who avenged his father," used of  $Hr \acute{s}pd$ . 633, 1637
- 9  $hr yr ntr \cdot w$ , "distant from the gods," used of Harakhte. 1693
- 10  $hk^3 \cdot \acute{s}ntr$ , "ruler 'of incense',"<sup>88</sup> used of  $Hr \acute{S}t(y)$ ,  $Hr \acute{s}mt(y)$ , and Eastern Horus treated as one god. 452
- 11  $\acute{s}p \acute{s}^3w$ , "blind 'in attack',"<sup>89</sup> used of the Horus hostile to the dead. 1268
- 12  $Km wr$  (or  $ht \cdot t \cdot Km wr \acute{t}$ ), "great black ('—')."<sup>90</sup> 1658(D 18)

C. Relationships—

I. GENEALOGICAL

- 1  $Yh \cdot t wr \cdot t$  ( $Yh \cdot t \cdot wt \cdot t$  resp.) bore king as Horus who went about in protection of his eye ( $\acute{s}n m s^3 \cdot yr \cdot t \cdot f$ ). 198
- 2 Horus is son of Isis. 1214(G 3), 1640(G 4)
- 3 Horus is son of Osiris. 22(G 10), 146(E 179), 179(G 8), 465(G 13), 466(C 89), 795(G 39), 898(C 102), 969(E 122, E 140), 1129(E 5), 1331(C 90)
- 4 Horus was born to Osiris, Set was conceived for Geb. 144

<sup>86</sup> Or  $wr \cdot w \acute{t}$ . The  $n$ -wave might be genitive; and  $wr$  alone probably does mean "quake" in 516a. Besides,  $nwr$ , which is found also in 581, 789, 956, 1183, 1270, 1357, 1855, and 2109, shows an initial  $nw$ -jar or -adze everywhere else except in 1855aN. But in our same text (W)  $rn \cdot f ym(y) hnw$ , without genitive  $n$ , occurs in 138c, only four lines back.

<sup>87</sup>  $B^3y \cdot t \cdot rp \cdot t$  is a mystic name of king as Osiris in 580;  $rp \cdot t$  alone (with fuller writing  $rpw \cdot t$  in 1349 and 207) is a chapel (shown by word-sign in 580 and 767, used as det. in 823 and 1349), located in Heliopolis (823) or in Dendera (207).

<sup>88</sup> Budge's translation of

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(*Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, p. 46) as "Sovereign of the divine  $Sa$  ( $Sa$  being 'fluid of life')," for which he credits Maspero, results from a misreading of the third sign as

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and failure to distinguish between  $\acute{s}$  and  $s$ , as was still done in the Pyramid Age.

<sup>89</sup> Used as mystic name of the hostile  $h^3y \cdot w$  and  $ymy \cdot w yiw$  in 1274(E 181). Our  $\acute{s}^3w$  (spelled  $\acute{s}^3w$  in 1274) is found as verb  $\acute{s}^3w$  also in 651PM, where T shows the more exact radicals  $h^3w$  used again in 588 and listed in Erman (*Glossar*, 99) with the meanings "etwas in etwas anreiben, einmischen."

<sup>90</sup>  $Km wr$  is a mystic name of king in 628 and 1630, is a god in 1390, and is an enemy of the king in 1350. The name is used elsewhere (outside of Pyr.) for the Bitter Lakes.

## C. Relationships—

- 5 Osiris is father of Horus. 13(E 86), 146(E 179), 176(G 11), 472(E 112), 493(E 4), 573(C 101), 740(G 16), 758(G 14), 898(C 102), 1215(G 3), 1330(G 9), 1406(D 204), 1658, 1682(G 23), 1730(G 19), 1799(D 261), 1860(G 20), 1980(G 25), 2115(E 163)
- 6 Horus is son of Atum. 874(H 6), 881(D 56)
- 7 Horus is a great one, son of a great one (*wr s<sup>3</sup>-wr*). 852<sup>u</sup>
- 8 Horus of Dewat and the king are children (*mš·w*) of Nut.<sup>u</sup> 1213(D 181)
- 9 Re calls himself brother 'of (Horus-)Soped'.<sup>u</sup> 1863(C 104)
- 10 Horus the son of Osiris is also son of Hathor. 466(C 89)
- 11 The cloud-lord (*nb k<sup>3</sup>ry*) Orion is father of Horus. 261(E 21)
- 12 Set is brother of Horus. 1742(F 226)
- 13 Horus is son of Geb. 973(C 91)
- 14 Horus the son of Osiris is seed (*mtw·t*) of Geb. 466(C 89)
- 15 Geb is father of Horus. 973(D 234), 977(F 59)
- 16 Horus is son of the king. 11(C 122), [44](C 64), 69(F 427), 192(E 40), 257(E 20), 578(E 72, F 50), 644(C 122), 1007(E 75), 1010(E 115), 1683(E 27), 1702(E 165), 1813(E 25), [1976](E 76), 1979(E 173, E 60), 1994(E 143)
- 17 King as Osiris is father of Horus. 101(E 35), 103, 258(D 138), 580(E 18), 589(E 18), 640(C 63), 650, 767(E 18), 1334(D 15), 1335(E 59), 1550(G 21)
- 18 King begets Horus. 143
- 19 *Hr špd* came forth from king and Isis-Sothis. 632, 1636
- 20 King begot (*mš*) (or 'is child of'?) Horus (dwelling) in *Db<sup>c</sup>-hrw·t*. 734 (D 108)
- 21 Horus was born to, and Set was conceived for, the king. 142
- 22 King was born to Horus, was conceived for Set, and received his purification in the Heliopolis-nome from his father Atum. 211
- 23 Horus had children (*mš*, *mš·w*).<sup>u</sup> 24(E 137), 619(E 101), 637(E 102, E 10),<sup>u</sup> 643(E 2), 766(E 137), 1338(E 10), 1548(E 5, D 136), [1823] (E 10, C 97), 1828(E 138)
- 24 King has joined himself with (*sm<sup>3</sup>·n·k hn<sup>c</sup>*) the (issue) of body of Horus (*n·w h·t·f*). 647
- 25 Horus had offspring. 647 (*mšyy·t* T, *mšw·t* PN, *mš·t* M) (G 31), 1333 (*mšyy·t* P) (E 3), 1339 (*mš·t* P) (E 11)
- 26 Horus of Letopolis had offspring. 2078 (*mšw·t* N) (A 3, E 14)
- 27 Horus the son of Osiris had an eldest daughter (dwelling) in *Kdm* (*s<sup>3</sup>·t·f wr·t ymy·t Kdm*).<sup>u</sup> 1008(E 75)

## II. POSITION OCCUPIED BY HORUS IN RELATION TO OTHER DIVINITIES

- 28 Belongs to Isis. 741(G 2)
- 29 Heir of his father. 316(D 7, G 54)
- 30 'Mighty over' him of Ombos. 6-8 and 786(A 85)

<sup>u</sup> Children of Nut are mentioned again in 823, where probably Horus and Set are meant.

<sup>u</sup> For complete references to the four Horus-sons, see Supplement.

<sup>u</sup> Italics here and following refer to the Supplement.

<sup>u</sup> But in 1977d (E 76) same phrase has pronoun *k* referring to king as Osiris. A 'related' *Kdm·w* (pl.) occurs in a broken and unintelligible passage, 1970b.



C. Relationships—

- 31 For relation to *Nḥb-k³·w*, see 346(C 35)
- 32 *Hsmnw*, Eastern Horus, Eastern Soul, and Harakhte, treated as one god, is one who oversees (*m³ hr-ḏ³ḏ³*) the gods (*ntr·w*) without any god overseeing him. 1479
- 33 For relations to the gods, see also 301(D 263), 454(F 89), 466(C 89), 853(D 2), 895(C 99), 1458(E 123), 1693(B 9)
- 34 Re-Harakhte a compound divinity.<sup>80</sup> 1049(D 60)
- 35 King, like (*yš*) Har(akhte), is summoned by Re and receives offering from *Nḥb-k³·w*. 346
- 36 For relations to Re, see also 452(B 4), 702(C 113), 2046(D 40)
- 37 For relation to 'the maiden' (*ḥwn·t*), see 206(D 23)
- 38 For relations to Sokar, see 138(B 2), 620(B 5), 1823(C 97)
- 39 *Hr ḥnty mn·wt·f* (*mny·t·f* resp.) seems to be identified with *Š³ḏwtj nb-Šbw·t*. 804 and 1015(C 85)
- 40 *Hr špd* is in Sothis. 632 and 1636(B 6)
- 41 Horus-*Škšn* a compound divinity.<sup>81</sup> 1734(C 93).
- 42 Knows the worthies of the (Sun-)god (*šps·w-ntr*). 815PM(A 55)
- 43 Heir of Geb. 1489(D 25)
- 44 For relation to Morning-star (*Dw³-ntr*), see 1207(D 61)
- 45 Is in Osiris the king. 19(F 43), 21(F 63), 55(F 43, F 77), 583, 831(F 43)
- 46 Is in embrace of Osiris the king . . . and escapes not from (*by³w r*) him. 636
- 47 Has not escaped from king. 1633
- 48 Is near (*ḥšf m*) king. 1234
- 49 Horus, youthful, child (*nḥn ḥrd*), is told of ascent of king to sky. 1320

III. RELATIONS TO HORUS ON PART OF OTHER DIVINITIES

a) Actions of Other Divinities toward Horus

- 50 Actions of *³kr*. See 555(D 169)
- 51 Isis and Nephthys prevent that Eastern Horus, Horus lord of men, Horus of Dewat, and Horus lord of the Two Lands decay. 1258
- 52 After avenging king, Isis and Nephthys have given him to Horus. 584
- 53 Actions of Isis. See also 1140(C 96)
- 54 Osiris speaks to Horus when latter has plucked out evil [from king]. 1978
- 55 Actions of children of Horus (*[mš·w]-Hr*). See 1823(C 97)
- 56 Nut has taken Horus and Set and their sorceresses (*ur·t-ḥk³·w*, = crowns<sup>82</sup>) to be her two eyes. 823
- 57 These two great and powerful gods (*ntr·wy ypw ur·wy ³³·wy*) who preside over the Field of Rushes (1690) cause that king live (again) and *nḥr* the seasons (*y·tr·w*) of Harakhte. 1693
- 58 "These four gods who stand (leaning) upon the *ḏm*-staves of the sky" announce king to Re and Harakhte.<sup>83</sup> 348

<sup>80</sup> Cf. 1087-88(E 169, D 266).

<sup>81</sup> Cf. later examples, as at Medinet Habu, transl. in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, § 66.

<sup>82</sup> Parallel text of 339 defines these gods more closely as "these four first-born spirits presiding over the curly-haired ones (*y³ḥ·w šmš·w ḥnty·w ḥnskty·w*), who stand in the east side of the sky leaning (*ḏtr*) upon their *ḏm* staves"; in 340 they announce the king to Re and *Nḥb-k³·w*.

## C. Relationships—

- 59 Re-Atum gives not king to Osiris nor to Horus. 145  
 60 Actions of Re. See also 351 etc. (D 32), 362(D 45), 1103(D 33)  
 61 *Hnty ymnty w* brings food and offerings for *Hr hnty pr w*. 133  
 62 Geb brings Horus to Osiris the king to aid latter. 590, 612, 634  
 63 Geb has caused that Horus see his father Osiris the king. 640  
 64 [Osiris the king] is bidden to put [his son] Horus within him. 44  
 65 King spreads out his arms behind Horus (i.e., embraces him as his ka, cf. D 192). 585, 636  
 66 King is bidden to loose Horus from his (cumbersome) regalia ( $\check{s}t^{28}$ ), that latter may punish followers of Set. 1285  
 67 King as Osiris is bidden to awake for ( $r\check{s} n$ ) Horus and arise against ( $h^c r$ ) Set. 793, 1259  
 68 King is bidden to awake for ( $r\check{s} n$ ) Horus and arise for ( $h^c n$ ) Set. 1710  
 69 King satisfies the two gods Horus and Set with a food-offering, so that they are satisfied and  $\check{s}pt$ . 1148  
 70 Osiris the king is bidden to ascend to Horus. 586, 645  
 71 King has come to Horus. 1407, 1489, 1558(E 24)  
 72 King comes to Nut, having thrown his father to earth and shaken off ( $f\check{b}$ ) Horus behind him. 250  
 73 King has come to *Hr Št(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus treated as one god. 450  
 74 Actions of king. See also 142(D 168), 337 etc. (D 36), 342(D 35), 360(D 38), 927 etc. (D 37), 999(D 39), 2056(D 165)

b) *Position Occupied by Other Divinities in Relation to Horus*

## 1. By others than the king:

- 75 By *H<sup>3</sup>py*, *Dw<sup>3</sup>-mw-t-f*, *Ymšty*, and *Kbh-šn-w-f*. See 601(C 4), 2101(D 208)  
 76 Geb has mystic name "Horus not repeating his work (*Hr y tm whm k<sup>3</sup>-t-f*)."  
 1622  
 77 Hostile serpent is asked: "Art thou Horus? . . . Art thou Set?" Apparently negative answer is expected. 685

## 2. By the king:

## IDENTIFICATIONS

- 78 King is Horus, following context lost. 2147  
 79 King is Horus who came forth from the Nile (*pr m H<sup>c</sup>py*), the bull that came forth from the walled town (*nq(3w) pr m ynb-t*), the  $\check{d}$ -*t*-serpent that came forth from Re, the  $y^c r$ -*t*-serpent (uraeus) that came forth from Set, say the gods. 2047  
 80 King is Horus who came forth from the  $\check{s}nt$ -serpent. 681  
 81 King has mystic name "Horus master of his people (*Hr hry- $\check{d}^3\check{d}^3 rhy-t-f$* )."  
 644  
 82 King is called "Horus presiding over the spirits (*Hr hnty y<sup>3</sup>h-w*)."  
 800 (by Re)

<sup>28</sup> Breasted here suggests "bonds"; but in all the other Pyr. occurrences of  $\check{h}$  (1089, 1373, 1507[D 285-87] and '1555') it seems to be used for "adorn" or "adornment."



C. Relationships—

- 83 "Horus (dwelling) in the sea, Horus presiding over the spirits (*Hr ymy w<sup>3</sup>d wr, Hr hnty y<sup>3</sup>h·w*)" are mystic names of Osiris or of king.<sup>99</sup> 1505
- 84 "Horus presiding over the spirits, star which ferried over the sea (*Hr hnty y<sup>3</sup>h·w, šb<sup>3</sup> d<sup>3</sup> w<sup>3</sup>d wr*)" are mystic names of Re or of king.<sup>99</sup> 1508
- 85 King is called "Horus presiding over his 'thighs' (*Hr hnty mn·wt·f*), *Š<sup>3</sup>tuty*, lord of *Šbw·t*." 804(by Re), 1015P(by Anubis)
- 86 King is called "Horus presiding over his *mn·t*." 1015N(by Anubis), 1719(by Re)
- 87 King has mystic name "Horus of *Š<sup>3</sup>·t*." 1257P<sup>100</sup>
- 88 King is Horus, the young child with his finger in his mouth (*hrd nhn d<sup>3</sup>b·f m r<sup>3</sup>·f*). 664
- 89 King is Horus the son of Osiris; is the first-born god, son of Hathor; is seed of Geb. 466
- 90 King is Horus, is 'the son whom he loves (*s<sup>3</sup> mr·f*)' of his father Osiris. 1331
- 91 King is Horus, son of Geb. 973
- 92 King is Horus who went about in the protection of his eye (*šn m s<sup>3</sup>-yr·t·f*). 195, 198
- 93 King has mystic names "Horus of Dewat, Horus-*Škšn*, Horus (following lost)." 1734
- 94 King is Horus who adorned his eye (Egypt or some part thereof) with both his arms (*db<sup>3</sup> yr·t·f m·wy·fy tm·wy*). 1596
- 95 For king as Horus, see also 148(D 180), 316(D 7), 436(G 50), 493(E 4), 503(D 69), 723(D 93), 800(D 51), 852(D 132), 853(D 2), 1086(D 34), 1294(D 194), 1301(D 3), 2036(D 29, C 111), 2037(D 62)

COMPARISONS

- 96 Isis the Great dries (king) as if he were Horus (*Hr yš*). 1140, '[1733]'
- 97 [Children of] Horus [are to carry] king [like (*my*) Horus in (Sokar's) *hnw-barque*.] 1823
- 98 King *hšd*'s his waters etc. like (*yš*) Horus, and 'distinguishes' (*wp*) them like Wepwawet. 2032
- 99 King sits before divine ennead like (*yš*) Geb, like Osiris, like Horus lord of men and gods (*nb-p<sup>c</sup>·t ntr·w*). 895
- 100 King is like (*yš*) Horus ———.<sup>100</sup> 1915
- 101 King comes to 'Anubis'<sup>101</sup> like (*yš*) Horus when he had avenged his father Osiris (*nd·n·f yt·f Yšyr*). 573
- 102 Isis and Nephthys grieve for king as if he were (*yš*) Horus who avenged his father Osiris (*nd yt·f Yšyr*).<sup>102</sup> 898
- 103 King dawns like (*yš*) Horus presiding over the living (*hnty 'nh·w*), like Geb, and like Osiris. 2103

<sup>99</sup> Suffix *t* is error for either *k* or *f*.

<sup>100</sup> The *n* following Horus may be initial of *nd yt·f*, "avenger of his father," as written in 898aN, or possibly of *nhn*, "young," as in 1320P.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. 574a.

<sup>102</sup> *Yš* seems to be an error, for context clearly treats king not as Horus but as Osiris.

## C. Relationships—

- 104 King hears Re's speech as if he were the god, as if he were Horus



(when Re says): "I am thy brother, even '(of)' Soped." 1863(cf. C 9)

- 105 King commands the *hnm*·*t*-people like (*yš*) Min (dwelling) in his house and like Horus of *Db<sup>c</sup>·hrw·t*. 1993
- 106 For other comparisons of king with Horus, see 4(D 42), 5(D 72), 206(D 274), 346(C 35), 353 etc. (D 44), 362(D 45), 659(D 50), 684(D 14), 768(D 8), 795(G 39), 798 etc. (D 9), 810(D 1), 874(H 6), 881(D 56), 891(D 57), 953(D 232), 1013(G 28), 1089(D 285), 1113(D 19), 1294(D 194), 1373(D 286), 1507(D 287), 1539(G 18)

## MISCELLANEOUS RELATIONS OF THE KING TO HORUS

- 107 King as Osiris has ascended before (*m b<sup>3</sup>h*) Horus. 576
- 108 King's right side is in Horus and his left side is in Set. 601(C 4)
- 109 King as Osiris has shone (or 'become a spirit') in (or 'through') Horus (*y<sup>3</sup>h·n·k ym·f*). 633, 1637
- 110 King as *Wng*, son of Re, is announced to "these two great and mighty gods" (Re and Horus; cf. 951). 952
- 111 King has come from (or 'as'?) Horus (*ym·f*). 2036
- 112 King knows (*r<sup>h</sup>*) the god (*ntr*), Re, Thoth, *Hr špd*, *ymy Dw<sup>3</sup>·t*, and the bull of the sky (*k<sup>3</sup>·p·t*); and each of these is bidden to fail not to recognize (*m hm*) him. 327-32
- 113 King is greater than (<sup>3</sup> *r*) *Hr tmšty*,<sup>84</sup> the red crown on head of Re (*dšr·t tpy·t R<sup>c</sup>*). 702
- 114 King is that single star ascending in east of sky, who has not given his body to Horus of Dewat. 877
- 115 On miscellaneous relations of the king to Horus, see also 27 etc. (D 267), 133(D 4), 301(D 263), 467(D 224), 535(D 198), 582 etc. (D 192), 856(D 223), 888(D 5), 1218(D 6), 1254(D 196), 1355(D 269), 1406(D 204), 1690(D 264), 1824(D 104), 1827(D 97), 1988(D 26)

## c) Attitude of Other Divinities toward Horus

- 116 Horus is beloved son of Osiris. 179(G 8), 1331(C 90)
- 117 The watchers (*wš·w*) purify themselves for Horus. 1945
- 118 Sky (*p·t*) purifies itself for Re, earth (*t<sup>3</sup>*) purifies itself for Horus. 951
- 119 The gods fear before (*nr n*) Horus. 1794
- 120 On attitude of 'Re, Eastern Horus, and Harakhte, as one god', toward Horus, see 1088(D 266)
- 121 *Rnn-wt·t* loves Horus. 454
- 122 Horus is beloved son of king as Osiris. 11, 644
- 123 [King loves] Horus. 45
- 124 King as Osiris is to show himself gracious to Horus. 103, 611
- 125 King as Osiris is entreated to accept and be satisfied with the speech of Horus. 611, 646
- 126 Heart of king is satisfied with Horus. 897
- 127 King has praised Re, Eastern Horus, and Harakhte. 1087
- 128 King is to be satisfied with eyes of Horus. 103(F 425), 583(F 426)



D. Nature—

I. ATTRIBUTES AND POWERS

a) *Physical*

- 1 King lives as lives Horus presiding over Letopolis. 810
- 2 King as "the sole one" (next called Horus, long-striding, mighty over the horizon, mighty over the gods) shall endure always. 853
- 3 King ascends as (*m*) Horus of Dewat, presider over the Imperishable Stars, and sits upon his marvelous throne at head of his celestial lake (*hndw·k by<sup>3</sup> tp mr·k kbhw*), living as the scarab-beetle lives, enduring as the *dd*-column, for ever and ever. 1301
- 4 King lives on that whereon Horus presiding over estates lives, eats and drinks of latter's provisions; *hnd* and *ššr·t* are his food. 133
- 5 King lives on that whereon Horus, lord of the sky, lives, by command of the latter. 888
- 6 King is to eat and drink of the provisions of Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. 1218(E 91)
- 7 King is Horus, the heir of his father; he is the goer and comer, the fourth of these four gods who fetch water, set down the offering (*'b'b·t*), and 'do — with' (*yrr·w hyy m*) the thighs of their fathers. 316
- 8 The going (*šm*) and goings (*šm·wt*) of king are those of Horus. 768
- 9 King goes (as) Horus goes (*šm*); he speaks (as) Set speaks. 798, 1715
- 10 The sleepers (*šdr·w*), the watchers (*wrš·w*), and Horus are all bidden to wake. 1011
- 11 *Hsmnw*, Eastern Horus, Eastern Soul, and Harakhte, treated as one god, wakes in peace. 1478
- 12 Horus presiding over the spirits, Re, and *Mdy* (=Re?) wake in peace. 1518
- 13 Horus 'collapses' (*šbn*). 503
- 14 King stretches bow-string as (*pq rwq m*) Horus, draws 'slip-noose' as (*št<sup>3</sup> wn·t m*) Osiris. 684
- 15 Horus is able (*šhm*) himself (alone) to avenge his father Osiris the king. 1334
- 16 Horus 'is not *wnk*'. 611, 646
- 17 Horus and Set are each sound 'of body' (*wq<sup>3</sup> n q·t·f*; or 'sound because o himself,' i.e., each causing his own soundness). 683
- 18 Horus is black and great (or 'very black') in his name of *Km wr*. 1658
- 19 King's sweat (*fd·t*) and odor (*šty*) are those of Horus. 1113
- 20 On physical nature of Horus, see also 7-8(A 14), 25 etc. (E 17), 103 etc. (A 19), 143(B 3), 206(D 23), 253(E 11), 436(G 50), 457(H 4), 663-64(A 77), 695(H 5), 852(G 27), 854(A 17, A 79), 1207(D 61), 1214(G 3), 1268(B 11), 1320(C 49), 1622(C 76), 1807(A 13), 2032(C 98)

b) *Spiritual*

- 21 See references to Horus as a god (*ntr*) under A 41-49
- 22 Horus has become more a soul and more mighty than his father Osiris, and Set than Geb (*b<sup>3</sup>·n·k yr·f šhm·n·k yr·f*). 144
- 23 King as Set suffers not destruction nor ['cessation'] (*n fh·ty n·k n y<sup>3</sup>b·ty n·k*), but is more a soul and more mighty than the Southern gods and their spirits; king as *Hr hwnty<sup>98</sup>* has same qualities in relation to the Northern gods. 204-6

## D. Nature—

- 24 Horus, lord of the green (cosmetic?), has become a soul and a prepared one (*b<sup>3</sup>·n·k špd·n·k*). 457
- 25 To Horus, heir of Geb, '(so-)called of Atum, belongs everyone whom the two enneads mention and everyone whom he (himself) mentions' (*n·k tm ḏḏ·w psḏ·ty n·k tm ḏḏ·(w)·k*; or possibly 'all which the . . . enneads say and all which thou sayest'). 1489
- 26 Righteousness (*m<sup>3</sup>·t*) of Horus is that of the king. 1988
- 27 Horus purifies himself in Pe and comes purified [to] avenge [his father]. 2190-91

## c) Celestial

- 28 *Shn wr*<sup>103</sup> is filled with splendor (*y<sup>3</sup>ḥ*) of *Hr Š<sup>3</sup>l(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, all considered as one god, as latter ascends in splendor from horizon. 455
- 29 Re causes king to shine (*š·(w)bn*) as Horus. 2036
- 30 On celestial nature of Horus, see also 362(D 45), 585(E 155), 612 etc. (E 157), 633 etc. (C 109), 636(E 156), 702(C 113), 1508(C 84)

## II. HABITAT

## a) Horizon

- 31 Harakhte ferries over on the two floats of the sky to horizon to Re. 337
- 32 Re and Harakhte ferry over on the two floats of the sky to horizon to each other's presence. 351, 358, 926, 932
- 33 Horus ferries over on the two floats of the sky to Re, and Re ferries over in same way to Harakhte. 1103
- 34 Horus, the Horizon-god (*y<sup>3</sup>ḥty*), *Hr šsmty*, Eastern Horus, and the king as Horus of the Gods each ferry over on the two floats of the sky to Re to horizon. There king receives his throne (*ns·t*) in Field of Rushes and descends to southern region of Field of Offering. 1084-87
- 35 *Hr (šsmty)* and king ferry over on the two floats of the sky to horizon to Harakhte. 342
- 36 King ferries over on the two floats of the sky to horizon to Harakhte and Re. 337, 351, 358
- 37 King ascends (*pr*) upon the two floats of the sky to horizon to Re and Harakhte. 927, 933
- 38 King is ferried 'across Lily Lake' to horizon to Harakhte. 359-60
- 39 King is ferried over to Re and Horus of the Gods to horizon, his station being on east side of sky. 999-1000
- 40 Horus<sup>104</sup> sails with king to horizon in barque of Re, and together they judge the gods in horizon. 2046
- 41 King ascends and is bailed by Horus in horizon. 2019
- 42 King controls (*šḥm m*) horizons like (*yḥ*) Harakhte. 4
- 43 Note additional occurrences of Harakhte (Horizon-Horus) under A 3; for other connections with horizon, see also 7b(A 30), 372(E 94), 455 (D 28), 741(G 2), 853(D 2)

<sup>103</sup> Equated with Re in 200-201 and 209.<sup>104</sup> Equated with Re? Cf. 2045.



D. Nature—

b) Sky

- 44 King is born in east of sky like (*yš*) Har(akhte). 353, 928, 934
- 45 Re has [taken] king to east side of sky like (*yš*) Horus of Dewat, the star that illumines (*wpš*) the sky. 362
- 46 The double doors of sky and of firmament (*kbhw*) are opened at dawn for Horus of the Gods, Harakhte, Eastern Horus, *Hr šsmty*, and the king, that each may ascend in Field of Rushes and purify himself in Field of Rushes. 525-29
- 47 The double doors of sky and of firmament are opened for Horus of the Gods, *Hr šsmty*, Eastern Horus, Harakhte, and the king, that each may ascend and purify himself in Field of Rushes. 1408-11
- 48 The double doors of sky and of firmament are opened for Horus of the Gods, Eastern Horus, *Hr šsmty*, Osiris, and the king, that each may ascend at dawn and purify himself in Field of Rushes. 981-85
- 49 The double doors of sky and of firmament are opened at dawn for Eastern Horus, Horus of Dewat, *Hr šsmty*, and the king, that each may descend (*sic*) and purify himself in Field of Rushes. 1132-37
- 50 The double doors of sky are opened for king to go forth from them like (*yš*) Horus, like the jackal upon his side.<sup>105</sup> 659
- 51 King ascends to sky as (*m*) Horus who is upon the *šdšd* of the sky. 800
- 52 Horus upon *šdšd* of sky is entreated to give his arm to king when latter ascends to sky. 1036
- 53 The ways of the Bows (*w<sup>3</sup>·wt·pd·wt*), which cause (one) to ascend to (i.e., lead up to) Horus, are kept clear for king when he escapes to sky. 801
- 54 Horus purifies king in the firmament (*kbhw*). 841
- 55 Horus (here called *b<sup>3</sup> ymy dšr·f*, 'Soul dwelling in his blood') received his seat in zenith (*wpw·t*) of sky, in the place wherewith his heart was satisfied, that he might course sky and wander over Delta and Upper Egypt (*šššy 'ydh·w' šm<sup>c</sup>*). 854
- 56 King takes *wrr·t*-crown in sky like (*my*) Horus, son of Atum. 881
- 57 King has coursed sky as (*m*) Harakhte. 891P<sup>106</sup>
- 58 House of Horus (*ht·t·Hr*) is in sky. 1025-27
- 59 House of Horus is in the firmament (*kbhw*). 1327
- 60 King traverses (*hns*) firmament in wake of Re-Harakhte. 1049
- 61 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat, divine falcon, 'bright green' (*w<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>d*, a bird), same divinity in four aspects,<sup>107</sup> is called child of the sky; and his four contented faces see that which is in *Kns·t* and drive away the 'dew' (*ššn*) from the offering-tables. 1207
- 62 King as Horus ascends to Re, 'seizing' Nut (the sky) by the forelock.<sup>108</sup> 2037

<sup>105</sup> Anubis; cf. 2001.

<sup>106</sup> MN have *anhm*, "a grasshopper."

<sup>107</sup> Text reads *y·nš hr·k m fd·w·k ypw hr·w štp·w*, "hail to thee with these thy four contented faces."

<sup>108</sup> This passage reads literally: "N. ascends unto him (Re), Horus 'seizes' (*wrm*) Nut by the forelock (*wp·t* with hair det.)." The verb *wrm* clearly occurs in 524c. Breasted translates *wp·t* as "forelock" in 401a (*Development of Religion and Thought*, 127).

## D. Nature—

- 63 King puts himself on way ( $w^3 \cdot t$ ) of *Hr šmty*, wherein latter leads the gods to the beautiful ways ( $w^3 \cdot wt$ ) of the sky and of the Field of Offering. 2062  
 64 On Horus in sky, see also 7b(A 33), 70(F 427), 304(D 210), 502(E 113), 534(D 135), 802(E 108), 815(E 114), 888(D 5), 999-1000(D 39), 1010 (E 115), 1301(D 3), 1465(E 118), 1979(E 173), 2090(F 199), 2091 (F 119)

c) *Field of Rushes* ( $\dot{\epsilon}h \cdot t \cdot y^3r \cdot w$ )

- 65 Horus of the Gods, *Hr šmty*, Osiris, and the king each ascend at dawn after purifying themselves in Field of Rushes. 986-89  
 66 If Horus of the Gods, *Hr šmty*, Eastern Horus, and Harakhte make an ascent to purify themselves in Field of Rushes, king shall do likewise. 1412-15  
 67 Re, Horus, and king have purified themselves in Field of Rushes.<sup>109</sup> 1430  
 68 For connections with Field of Rushes, see also 525-29(D 46), 874(H 6), 981-85(D 48), 1084-87(D 34), 1132-37(D 49), 1408-11(D 47)

d) *Way* ( $w^3 \cdot t$ ) of Horus<sup>110</sup>

- 69 King passes along a way made by the gods, for he is Horus. 503  
 70 Way of Horus is bidden to extend its hand ( $yr \ h\dot{n} \cdot t$ )<sup>110a</sup> and its two arms ( $\dot{\epsilon} \cdot wy$ ) to king. 607  
 71 On way of *Hr šmty*, see 2062(D 63)

e) *Dewat*

- 72 King presides in Dewat like ( $y\dot{\epsilon}$ ) Horus, presider over Dewat. 5  
 73 *Hr špd* and  $y\dot{m}y \ Dw^3 \cdot t$  in vocative have interchanged places in W and T texts of 330 and 331. Are they identified?  
 74 See also the references to Horus of Dewat under A 96; still other connections appear in 372(E 94), 390(E 111), 1959(F 209)

f) *Y<sup>3</sup>·t-regions*

- 75 King circles ( $dbn$ ) the Horite regions and the Setite regions. 135, 1735  
 76 [King circles his] Horite [regions] and his Setite regions like Min. 1928  
 77 King circles the Horite regions; he invades ( $dndn$ ) the Setite regions. 2099  
 78 King is bidden to go to give command to the regions of Horus, of Set, and of Osiris. 218, 222  
 79 The region 'of Geb', that of Horus, that of Set, and the Field of Rushes praise king. 480  
 80 The regions of Horus, those of Set, and the Field of Rushes praise king. 994  
 81 Horus is greeted in the Horite regions, Set in the Setite, and  $Y^3rw$  in the Fields (so W; N has 'Field') of Rushes. 487  
 82 King belongs to that distant palace of the lords of kas where Re is at morn ( $dw^3 \cdot w$ ; or 'is praised'), in the Horite regions, in the Setite regions. 598

<sup>109</sup> Cf. also connection of Horus with *Lake of Rushes* in 519 and 1247 (E 95-96).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. "ways of Kheprer" in 305, and "ways of the Bows" in 801(D 53).

<sup>110a</sup> See Lacau, *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXV, 220.



D. Nature—

- 83 King is to inhabit his Horite regions and wander over (*wnwn*) his Setite regions. 770
- 84 The Fields of Rushes, the Horite regions, and the regions of Set are all for king. 943
- 85 The gods who have gone to their kas (*s(y) · w n k³ · w · šn*) live in the Horite and the Setite regions. 948
- 86 Sky, earth, Field of Rushes, Horite regions and Setite regions, cities and nomes are given to king by Atum. 961
- 87 Regions 'of Geb', those of Horus, those of Set, and the Field of Rushes are given to king by Atum. 1475
- 88 Anubis has commanded that king descend as Morning-star and invade (*dndn*) region of southern Horus and region of northern Horus. 1295

g) *Earthly Localities*

- 89 'The remedies of Horus have been applied' (*phr phr · wt-Hr*)<sup>111</sup> in Abydos (*šbdw*), '(even) the *wy · t*-bread of' Osiris. 1122
- 90 Horus comes forth from Khemmis (*šh-by · t*), and Pe (*P*) arises for him. 2190
- 91 Double Horus (*Hr · wy*), presider over estates, is called also Great One (dwelling) in Heliopolis (*Ywnw*). 695(H 5)
- 92 For Heliopolis, see also 1614(F 72)
- 93 King's soul stands among the gods as (*m*) Horus (dwelling) within *Yrw*. 723
- 94 Delta (*Ydh · w*). 854(D 55)
- 95 The Horus hostile to dead is bidden to begone to '*np · t* and to *Ntr(w)*. 1268
- 96 Pe (*P*). 2190(D 90, D 27)
- 97 King [as Osiris] is mighty [over Delta (*Mh*)] as (over) this Horus.] 1827
- 98 Hieraconpolis (*Nhn*). See references in A 39
- 99 *Ntrw*. 1268(D 95)
- 100 Letopolis (*Hm*). See references and notes under A 63 and A 70
- 101 *H³ · t*. Proper reading of *Š³ · t* (D 103), *q.v.*
- 102 King has trodden upon 'the Horite city of *Sbn*'.<sup>112</sup> 244
- 103 *Š³ · t*. 450 ff.(C 73, D 28), 1257(C 87)
- 104 King as Osiris [is mighty] over Upper Egypt (*Šm<sup>c</sup>*) as (over) this Horus. 1824
- 105 Upper Egypt. See also 854(D 55)
- 106 *Kns · t*. 920-21(D 229), 1207(D 61)
- 107 The Two Lands (*t³ · wy*). 6-7(A 26), 1258(C 51)
- 108 King begot (or 'is child of') Horus (dwelling) in *Db<sup>c</sup> · hrw · t*, like (*yš*) Set (dwelling) in '*Hnhn · t*'. 734
- 109 *Db<sup>c</sup> · hrw · t*. See also 1668(D 190), 1993(C 105)

<sup>111</sup> Breasted renders: "'the offering of Horus is offered!'" but *phr*, "food-offering," is masc. in 818a, the only certain Pyr. occurrence of this root with such meaning.

<sup>112</sup> Breasted: "'the *šb* of the city of Horus'."

## D. Nature—

h) *Miscellaneous*

- 110 Eastern (*y<sup>3</sup>bty*). See references under A 2, also 159(E 121)  
 111 *Yhm-wt*. '1951'(A 91)  
 112 The two regions (*ydb-wy*) shall be withheld from Horus,<sup>113</sup> if Sun-god prevents king from coming to place where Sun-god is. 1436  
 113 King sees those who are in the palace (*h*),<sup>114</sup> namely Horus and Set. 141  
 114 Sea (*w<sup>3</sup>d wr*). 1505(C 83), 1508(C 84)  
 115 The broad hall (*wsh-t*). 905(E 90)  
 116 Among the falcons (*byk-w*). '1672'(E 164)  
 117 House or estate (*pr*). 1294(D 194)  
 118 Morning-barque (*m<sup>c</sup>nd-t*). 1479(D 124)  
 119 As Horus does not pass the night behind the lake (*n Hr sdr h<sup>3</sup> mr*),<sup>114</sup> nor is Thoth left boatless,<sup>114</sup> so king too is not left boatless. 1429  
 120 Jackal-lake (*mr-s<sup>3</sup>b*). 372(E 94)  
 121 Celestial lake (*mr kbhw*). 1301(D 3)  
 122 "They" (obscure) row Horus at his ascent from (*m*; or 'in'?) *Mh-t wr-t*. 1131  
 123 Northern (*mhty*). 1295(D 88)  
 124 *Hsmnw*, Eastern Horus, Eastern Soul, and Harakhte, treated as one god, passes the night in evening-barque (*mskt-t*) and wakes in morning-barque (*m<sup>c</sup>nd-t*). 1479  
 125 *Rp-t*-chapel. 767(B 7)  
 126 Southern (*rsw*). 1295(D 88)  
 127 *Hnw*-barque. 138(B 2), 620(B 5), [1823](C 97), [1824](E 105), '1826'(E 106)  
 128 The Great House (*ht-t<sup>c</sup>-t*, probably in sky). 373(E 110)  
 129 The double doors of the *s<sup>3</sup>-t*-region<sup>115</sup> are opened for Horus, and those of 'the meadows' (*s<sup>3</sup>b-wt*) for Set. 518  
 130 The star Sothis (*Spd-t*). 632 and 1636(B 6)  
 131 Great field (*sh-t wr-t*) of Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. 1217(E 91)  
 132 The caverns of the lookouts (*tp<sup>h</sup>-wt-ptr-w*) are opened for king as Horus; the footsteps of radiance are loosed (*snf<sup>h</sup>h nmt-wt-y<sup>3</sup>hw*) for him. 852  
 133 *Dndrw*-barque. 633 and 1637(B 1)  
 134 The king. 19 etc. (C 45), 44(C 64), 636(C 46), 1633(C 47)

## III. ATTITUDE OF HORUS TOWARD OTHER DIVINITIES

- 135 *Nbyw-t* (a goddess?) in sky is beloved of Horus. 534  
 136 *H<sup>3</sup>py*, *Ymsty*, *Dw<sup>3</sup>-mw-t-f*, and *Kbh-sn-w-f* are beloved children of Horus. 1548  
 137 Horus followed and loved Geb. 1625(G 51)

<sup>113</sup> Breasted interprets that Horus shall be prevented from inheriting Egypt as successor of the Sun-god.

<sup>114</sup> I.e., as Breasted notes, he does not have to remain without crossing it.

<sup>115</sup> These phrases picture Horus as sun and Thoth as moon crossing the sky.

<sup>116</sup> The nisbe form *s<sup>3</sup>ty-w* occurs in 1369 and 2017. Cf. also the vocative *s<sup>3</sup>ty* in a serpent charm in 421 and 668.



D. Nature—

- 138 Horus is satisfied with his father (the king); Atum is satisfied with his years. 258  
 139 Horus is to be satisfied with Osiris the king. 584  
 140 Horus loves his messenger the king. 535(D 198)  
 141 Horus has loved Osiris the king. 609  
 142 Horus has loved his father the king. 1633  
 143 Horus is not distant from Osiris the king. 610  
 144 Horus comes rejoicing at approach of king and of his eye which is upon latter. 2076  
 145 As to attitudes of Horus, see also 592 and 650(D 147), 1088(D 266), 1148(C 69)

IV. PARTS OF BODY

- 146 Incense is in limbs (*yw<sup>c</sup> · w<sup>1</sup>*) of Horus. 116  
 147 Heart (*yb*) of Horus rejoices in presence of Osiris the king. 592, 650  
 148 Heart (*yb*). See also 71(F 428), 585(D 176), 854(D 55), 1640(G 4)  
 149 White teeth (*ybh · w hq · w*) of Horus (onions?) are offered to Osiris the king. 35, 79  
 150 Eye (*yr · t*) and eyes (*yr · ty*). See section F as a whole.  
 151 A hostile bull's head is in hand (<sup>c</sup>) of Horus, his tail in hand of Isis, and Atum's fingers are on his horns (*wp · t*). 1302  
 152 Arm (<sup>c</sup>) of Horus is behind king, and arm of Thoth —. 1570  
 153 Horus has caused that his arm 'revert to' (*phr<sup>c</sup> · f n*) [king]. 2213  
 154 Arm and arms. See also 741(G 2), 1036(D 52), 1243(E 109), 1588 etc. (F 91)  
 155 Nose (*fnd*) 'of (*Hr*) *šamt(y)*' (or of Sobk?) breathes perfumes. 456  
 156 *Pk*-bread and *p<sup>3</sup>q*-bread came forth from loins (*m<sup>3</sup>š · t*) of Horus. 378  
 157 Thighs (*mn · wt*). '804 etc.' (A 68)  
 158 Tip of breast (*tp n mnd*) of Horus, of his body, is offered to king. 32  
 159 Breast of Horus is offered to Osiris the king. 91  
 160 Horus and Set respectively were purified and healed from the wounds they had given each other by the spittle (*yšš*) which came forth from the mouth (*r<sup>3</sup>*) of Horus and by the spit (*yšd*) which came forth from the mouth of Set. 850  
 161 Mouth. See also 663-64(A 77)  
 162 Arm (*rmn*) of Horus fights in behalf of *šhd · w* of sky, whom Re causes to live (again) every day. 449  
 163 King descends . . . on shoulders (*rmn · wy*) of Horus. 138  
 164 Horus has set king (upon) his shoulders. 1471  
 165 King sits at shoulder of Horus and spits on his temple (*šm<sup>3</sup>*).<sup>117</sup> 2056  
 166 Ointment which was in forehead (*h<sup>3</sup> · t*) of Horus is put in forehead of king. 52  
 167 Forehead. See also 83(F 246), 139(F 121), 453(F 38), 742(F 39, F 158, F 217)

<sup>117</sup> King does same for Osiris in 2055.

## D. Nature—

- 168 King spits on face (*hr*) of Horus to expel the 'wickedness' which is upon him (*nkn yr·f*), and *y<sup>c</sup>h*'s testicle of Set to expel his 444. 142
- 169 *3kr* and Horus each bare the other's face. 555
- 170 Face. See also 973(D 234), 1207(D 61)
- 171 A serpent is called *h<sup>3</sup>nf·t* of Horus (with flesh det. in W). 245
- 172 Neck (*hh*). 1213(D 181)
- 173 Body (*h·t*). 647(C 24)
- 174 Temple of the head (*sm<sup>3</sup>*). 2056(D 165)
- 175 "Talons" (*sm<sup>c</sup>·wy*; or props of some sort?) of Horus and wings of Thoth are bidden to ferry over the king. 1176
- 176 Bones (*krš·w*) of Horus *nw<sup>3</sup>w<sup>3</sup>u<sup>3</sup>* and his heart (*yb*) beats. 585
- 177 Foot (*tbw*). 681(G 42)
- 178 Blood (*dšr*). 854(D 55)
- 179 Body (*d·t*). 32(D 158)
- 180 King's head (*d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>*) is that of Horus of Dewat, his forehead (*m·hnt*) is that of *Hnty·'yr·ty<sup>1</sup>*, his two ears and again his two eyes are the two daughters of Atum, his nose (*fnđ*) is that of the jackal, his teeth are Soped, his arm(s) are *H<sup>3</sup>py* and *Dw<sup>3</sup>·mw·t·f*, his legs are *Ymšty* and *Kbh·šn·w·f*, and his members (*<sup>c</sup>wt*) are the two daughters of Atum. 148-49
- 181 The two children of Nut (namely Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. and the king) embark on the sea, each wearing on head (*d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>*) and neck (*hh*) garlands (*w<sup>3</sup>h·w*) of the *yb*-tree. 1213
- 182 Head. See also 1239(F 197)
- 183 King has turned (*štp*) to sky at the two fingers (*db<sup>c</sup>·wy*) of the god, the lord of the ladder (Horus, cf. 973-74). 980
- 184 King's mouth is opened by Horus with his little finger (*db<sup>c</sup> ndš*). 1330(G 9)
- 185 Finger and fingers. See also 372(E 94), 663-64(A 77), 1208(G 32)

## V. ELEMENTS OR PHASES OF PERSONALITY

- 186 Spirit or spirithood (*y<sup>3</sup>h*). 633 etc. (B 1), 795(G 39)
- 187 Soul of Horus is not repelled (*n hšf b<sup>3</sup>·f*). 253
- 188 Horus becomes a soul. 580, 767
- 189 Soul. See also 144(D 22), 206(D 23), 457(D 24), 854(D 55), 1209(G 32)
- 190 Name (*rn*) of Horus endures in *Db<sup>c</sup>·hrw·t*. 1668
- 191 Horus, Set, Thoth, *Sp<sup>3</sup>*, Osiris, *Hnty·'yr·ty<sup>1</sup>*, and the king go (*sy*), each with his ka (*hn<sup>c</sup> k<sup>3</sup>·f*). 17
- 192 King as Osiris is ka of Horus. 582(E 22), 610, 647(E 22), 1609, [1832]
- 193 Eye of Horus was 'before' (*hry·t<sup>c</sup>·wy*) his great kas and upon (*tpy·t*) his many kas. 2087

## VI. SUBORDINATES

- 194 Horus of Hieraconpolis has given to king as to *Hr ymy pr·f*, as to the presider presiding over the mighty, his spirits the jackals (*y<sup>3</sup>h·w·f s<sup>3</sup>b·w*). 1294

<sup>118</sup> Breasted: "dance."



D. Nature—

- 195 Spirits. See also 800 etc. (A 64), 969N(E 140)
- 196 King comes as messenger (*yp(w)t(y)*) of Horus. 1254
- 197 'Priest'<sup>119</sup> has come to Osiris the king as messenger of 'Horus' (*yp(w)t(y)-Hrw*). 1686
- 198 King is beloved messenger (*ynw*) of Horus, Set, and Thoth, for he brought (so T; N has 'brings') to them their eye, testicles, and arm (last in N only) respectively. 535
- 199 Messengers of Horus go, his couriers run (*sy yn·w·f bt syn·(w)·f*) to announce coming of king to Re.<sup>120</sup> 253-54
- 200 Messengers of Horus go, his couriers run, his heralds hasten (*nt<sup>3</sup> y·hw(w)t(y)·w·f*)<sup>121</sup> to announce coming of king to Re. 1861-62
- 201 Doorkeeper of Horus, [ga]te-[keeper] of Osiris (*yr(y)-<sup>c</sup> 3 n Hr ['yry'-<sup>c</sup>rr]w·t n·t Yšyr*) is bidden to announce king to Horus. 520
- 202 *Yhm·wt*. '1951'(A 91)
- 203 Isis. 584(E 62)
- 204 King judges (*wd<sup>c</sup> mdw n*) the gods like (*yš*) a king, like the deputy (*yšty*; or 'successor') of Horus, that he may avenge Horus's father Osiris (N has: 'who avenged his father Osiris'). 1406
- 205 Horus stands before the living (*hnty 'nh·w*). 1232
- 206 The living. See also 2103(C 103)
- 207 *Wr-k<sup>3</sup>·f* ('Great is his ka'), the butler (*wdpw*) of Horus, mighty in counsel (*šhm-ah*) of Re, eldest of the palace (*šmšw-ys·t*) of Ptah, is bidden to give to king a joint of meat (*wr*). 560, 566
- 208 Horus comes to king, equipped with [his] souls (*b<sup>3</sup>·w*), namely *H<sup>3</sup>py*, *Dw<sup>3</sup>-mw·t·f*, *Ymšty*, and *Kbh-šn·w·f*, who bring to king his name of 'Imperishable.' 2101-2
- 209 People (*p<sup>c</sup>·t*). 14 etc. (A 34), 895(C 99)
- 210 There is conflict in the sky . . . and the divine ennead of Horus (*pšd·t-Hr*) is in splendor (*m y<sup>3</sup>hw*) . . . as king sits in every seat of Atum and takes the sky. 304-5
- 211 Divine ennead. See also 895(C 99)
- 212 Children of Horus. 24 etc. (E 137), 619(E 101), 637 etc. (E 102), 1828 (E 138)
- 213 Nephthys. 584(E 62)
- 214 Cattle of Horus, whom he treads (*nr·w-Hr hnd·(w)·f*), may apply to *d·t*-serpent and *sp<sup>3</sup>*-worm mentioned just previously. 244
- 215 Gods (*ntr·w*). 24 etc. (E 125-36), 577 etc. (E 38, E 161), 578(E 61), 895(C 99), 1458(E 123)
- 216 The sweet-smelling ones (*ndm·w-št(y)*). 1518(A 92)
- 217 People (*rhy·t*). 644(C 81)
- 218 Heralds (*hwty·w*). 769(D 221), 1861(D 200)
- 219 People (*hnm·t*). 1993(C 105)
- 220 The Imperishable Stars (*y·hm·w šk*). 1301(D 3)

<sup>119</sup> Horus himself speaks in 1683-85, but throughout 1686 *Hrw* is in 3rd person.

<sup>120</sup> Here unnamed, but cf. 1861-62(D 200) and 2174-75.

<sup>121</sup> Same grouping, but with different verbs, is used of king's envoys in 1539 (following G 18).

**D. Nature—**

- 221 Couriers of Horus run, his heralds hasten (*bt syn·w·f nt³ hwtly·w·f*) to announce him to him who leans (upon his staff) in the East (Re).<sup>126</sup> 769
- 222 Couriers (*syn·w*). See also 253(D 199), 1861(D 200)
- 223 He who knows chapter of Re and recites charms of Harakhte (conditions met by king) shall be intimate (*rḥ*) of Re and companion (*šmr*) of Harakhte. 855-56
- 224 Osiris has commanded that king dawn as deputy (or 'successor') of Horus (*šn·nw-Hr*). 467
- 225 The *šḥ³·t-Hr* (cow) suckled king. 1375
- 226 The mighty (*šḥm·w*). 1294(D 194)
- 227 King has been presented with *hamn*-natron along with the Followers of Horus (*šmš·w-Hr*). 26
- 228 King satisfies the followers of Horus. 897
- 229 King descends to Field of *Kns·t*, that the Followers of Horus may purify him. They cleanse and dry the king, and recite for him the 'chapter of the just' and the 'chapter of them that have ascended' (P adds: 'to life and satisfaction'). 920-21
- 230 King is purified by the Followers of Horus, who also recite for him the 'chapter of them that have ascended' and 'them that lift themselves' (*šw·yw* in P; but MN have *r³ n ḥp·yw*, 'the chapter of them that go'). 1245
- 231 (The inhabitants of) the Two Lands (*t³·wy*). 1258(C 51)
- 232 They of Dewat (*D(w)³ty·w*) are bidden to support king like (*my*) Re, follow him like Horus, exalt him like Wepwawet, and love him like Min. 953
- 233 Thoth. 575(E 56), 651(E 57), 1336(E 59), 1979(E 60)

**VII. EQUIPMENT**

This covers in one alphabetic series:

Objects worn or carried

Food, cosmetics, natron, incense

Palaces, thrones, estates, temples

Barques

Miscellaneous, including:

*pḥr·wt*

*m³ḥ·t*, 'ladder'

*ḥ³·t*, 'tomb'

*ḥk³·w*, 'charms'

*ḥtm*, 'be equipped,' in general statement

*ḥnsw·t*

*šw·t*

*šm·wy*

- 234 Horus comes with his lion-mask upon his head (*β·t·f tp·f*); his face approaches his father Geb. 973



D. Nature—

- 235 *Db·t-nh·wt* has [come] to king 'after latter carried off' (*shs·n·f*) one of the two *3ms*-scepters of Horus<sup>122</sup> which were in her charge. 522
- 236 Horizon offers incense (*ydy*) to Horus of Hieraconpolis. 295, 296
- 237 Palace (*h*). 141(D 113)
- 238 Garlands (*w<sup>3</sup>h·w*). 1213(D 181)
- 239 Green cosmetic (*w<sup>3</sup>d*). 457(D 24)
- 240 Sorceress (*wr·t-hk<sup>3</sup>·w*, a crown). 823(C 56)
- 241 Southern crown (*wrr·t*). 14(E 86), 455(E 1), 737(F 149), 881(D 56)
- 242 The broad hall (*wsh·t*). 905(E 90)
- 243 Bread (*p<sup>3</sup>d*). 378(D 156)
- 244 'Pellets of incense' (*p<sup>3</sup>d·wy*; or loaves?). 905(E 90)
- 245 House or estate (*pr*). 1294(A 10).
- 246 Estates (*pr·w*). 133(A 66), 695(H 5)
- 247 'Remedy' (*phr·t*) and 'remedies'. 1088(E 169), 1122(D 89)
- 248 Bread (*pk*). 378(D 156)
- 249 Re dawns against, and Horus draws his nine bows (*pd·wt*) against, this spirit which came forth from the earth, . . . *Ddy*, son of *Šrk·t·htw*. 673
- 250 Staff (*m<sup>3</sup>w·t*). 1212(D 255)
- 251 Ladder (*m<sup>3</sup>k·t*) of Set and of Horus was made for Osiris, that he might ascend thereon to sky and join court of Re (*štp·f s<sup>3</sup> yr R<sup>c</sup>*). 971
- 252 Geb gave to Horus (or Osiris? Cf. 973b vs. 971e) the ladder of the god (Horus, cf. 973) and of Set, that he might ascend thereon to sky and join court of Re, and is now entreated to do same for king. 974-75
- 253 All spirits and gods who shall oppose king when he ascends to sky upon ladder of the god (Horus, as before) are cursed, and those who shall aid him are blessed. 978-80
- 254 The god (Horus) is called lord of the ladder. 974 etc. (A 36)
- 255 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. receives his favorite *m<sup>c</sup>b<sup>3</sup>*-harpoon, his staff (*m<sup>3</sup>w·t*) which *hm<sup>c</sup>*'s the canals, whose twin barbs (*bwn·wy*) are the rays of the sun, whose twin bone(-point)s (*hrs·wy*) are the claws of *M<sup>3</sup>fd·t*. With this his companion the king is to cut off the heads of the 'adversaries' (*d<sup>3</sup>yt<sup>y</sup>·w*) who are in the Field of Offering. 1212
- 256 Sustenance of truth (*m·nh·t n·t m<sup>3</sup>c·t*). 815(A 61)
- 257 Morning-barque (*m<sup>c</sup>nd·t*) 1479(D 124)
- 258 Horus has ointment (*mrh·t n Hr*), Set has ointment. 2071
- 259 Ointment (*mrh·t*). See also 52(D 166)
- 260 Evening-barque (*m<sup>3</sup>kt·t*). 1479(D 124)
- 261 Horus comes filled with ointment (*m[d·t]*); he has embraced his father Osiris. 1799
- 262 Horus has filled himself with ointment (*md·t*). 2072
- 263 King has inherited Geb and Atum; he is upon throne (*ns·t*) of Horus the first-born (*šmšw*) (of the gods). 301

<sup>122</sup> The *3ms*-scepter is frequently mentioned. In 43-45, 47, and 731 also the Horus-bird appears, but seems in those cases a part of the phonetic writing of *3ms*. Erman, however (*Gram.*<sup>2</sup>, §186), reads there *hr·š* as a compound noun formed with the feminine pronominal ending, parallel to *šm<sup>c</sup>·š* and *m<sup>3</sup>h·š*, old names for crowns of South and North respectively.



## D. Nature—

- 264 These two great and powerful gods who preside over the Field of Rushes have placed king upon throne of 'Horus' (*Hrw*). 1690
- 265 Throne (*nš·t*). See also 1086(D 34)
- 266 'Re, Eastern Horus, and Harakhte, treated as one god,' is to be gracious to king as he is to Horus upon his throne (*nl*) and vice versa. 1088
- 267 King's *ntry*-natron is that of Horus, of Set, of Thoth, and of *Sp³*. 27, 28
- 268 *Rp·t*-chapel. 767(B 7)
- 269 The four goings of king, raised by Geb (1353), are before the tomb (*h³·t*) of Horus, whereby one goes to the god when the sun goes down. 1355
- 270 Prime oil (*h³l(y)·t*). 742(F 39)
- 271 *Hnw*-barque. 138 etc. (D 127)
- 272 Charms (*hk³·w*) of Harakhte. 855-56(D 223)
- 273 House (*ht·t*). 1025-27(D 58), 1327(D 59)
- 274 King is equipped (*htm*) as Set and as *Hr hwny*. 205-6
- 275 '(*Hr*) *šsnty*' (or Sobk?) causes ka of king to ascend to latter's side as former's *hnsu·t* ascends to him. 456
- 276 Horus sits upon this his marvellous throne (*hnd·f pw by³*). 2091
- 277 Marvellous throne. See also 1301(D 3)
- 278 *Smy*-natron. 26(E 88)
- 279 Arbor (*sh*). 2100(E 175)
- 280 Horus is equipped with his *šw·t*-plant¹. 2072
- 281 'Props' (*šm·wy*). 1176(D 175)
- 282 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is a soul dawning in the bow (*hnt*) of this his ship (*šmh*) of 770 cubits (in length), which the gods of Pe bound (*šp*) for him and the Eastern gods bent (*ʿrk*) for him. He is asked to take king with him in its cabin or hold (*šn·w*). 1209
- 283 Incense (*šn·r*). 116(D 146), 452(B 10)
- 284 Horus, Set, Thoth, *Sp³*, and the king, each one has adorned himself with that (so M; N: 'his') *šsm·t* which traversed (*nmt·t*) the face of his land. 1612-14
- 285 King has gone forth from Pe unto the souls of Pe, adorned (*št*) with the adornment of Horus, clothed (*hbš*) in the raiment of Thoth. 1089
- 286 King has gone forth from Pe adorned as (*št m*) Horus, bedecked as (*db³ m*) the two divine enneads. 1373
- 287 King as a Heliopolitan goes forth from his house (*pr*) adorned as Horus, bedecked as Thoth. 1507
- 288 Regalia (*št*, same word as preceding). See also 1285(C 66)
- 289 King hungers not, having eaten the *kmhw*-bread<sup>123</sup> of Horus, made for latter by his eldest woman(-'attendant', *s·t·f ur·t*) that he might be sated thereby and take this land (Egypt. So T; but MN have *sp·f*, 'his 'virtue'' thereby. 551
- 290 Linen (*t³yt(y)·t*). 2094(E 174)
- 291 Sandal (*tb·t*) of Horus, in a serpent-charm with obscure context. 444

<sup>123</sup> On affinity of *kmh* to Semitic  $\Pi\Omega\varphi$  see Bondi (*Lehnwörter*, p. 77) and Burchardt (*Altkan. Fremdworte*, No. 984, and I, §123).

D. Nature—

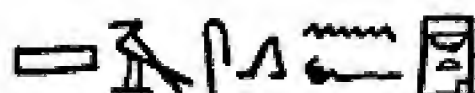
- 292 Sandal (*tbw·t*) of Horus trampled (*hnd*) the *nhy*-serpent, the *nhy*-serpent of Horus the young child with his finger in his mouth. 663  
 293 Horus the son of Isis journeyed over the land in his two white sandals (*tbw·ty*), going to see his father Osiris. 1215(G 3)  
 294 Food (*df<sup>3</sup>·w*). 695(H 5)  
 295 *Dndrw*-barque. 633 and 1637(B 1)

E. Activities of Horus—

I. INVOLVING DIVINITIES OTHER THAN KING

- 1 *Hr Št(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, treated as one god, is bidden to take *wrr·t*-crown from the great and powerful '—'s (*3<sup>cc</sup>·w wr·w 3<sup>3</sup>·w*) who preside over Libya. 455
- 2 *3kr*. 555(D 169)
- 3 The king and Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. cause to flourish (*š·3h<sup>3</sup>h*) the *n·t*-crowns of the Field of Offering for Isis the Great. 1214
- 4 King is Horus, has come behind (*yy m ht*) his father Osiris. 493
- 5 King as the son Horus seeks to see (*dbh m<sup>3</sup>·f*) Osiris. 1129
- 6 On activities of Horus involving Osiris, see also 1643(F 56), and cf. references to king in E 16 ff.
- 7 'Horus' traverses 'Nephthys' (*šš·f Nb·t(t)·ht·t*,<sup>124</sup> in a serpent charm). 444
- 8 The Two Lands beam when Horus bares the face(s) of the gods (*y·wn·j hr·ntr·w*).<sup>125</sup> 373
- 9 The gods. See also 24 etc. (E 125-36), 51(F 28), 502(E 113), 969 etc. (E 122-23), 1406(D 204), 2046(D 40)
- 10 Re. 337 etc. (D 31-34), 449(D 162)

<sup>124</sup> Possibly compare



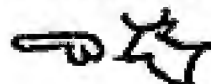
said in 1278 of him who shall favor king's pyramid. On the other hand, text of 444 reads more fully



..., which suggests also



in 189a (the animal in latter group is a variant of



in 547a). Name of Nephthys is not written in exactly this way elsewhere in Pyr.

<sup>125</sup> Sense seems to be "when he appears to the gods," sun rising in presence of the gods and shining upon Egypt; but in Coptic such cases require a dative *n*. Cf., e.g., Zoega, *Catalogus*, p. 305:

ΕΡΩΔΑΝ-ΟΥΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ ΟΥΩΝΔΖ ΝΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ.



## E. Activities of Horus—

- 11 Blue-eyed Horus comes up to (*yy r*) and red-eyed Horus protects (*s<sup>3</sup>*) two wild bulls (*šm<sup>3</sup> wy*), when he of the lion-mask<sup>126</sup> is sick (*mr ʔt(y)*). 253
- 12 Set. 65(F 90), 95(F 83), 591(F 51)
- 13 Geb. 1643(F 48)
- 14 Horus has cast headlong (*gbgb*) the serpent *Ddy*, so that he lives not; Set has *ynyn*'ed him, so that he stands not. 678
- 15 *Ddy*. See also 673(D 249)

## II. INVOLVING KING

a) *Favorable*

## RECOGNITION

- 16 Horus recognizes (*yp*) Osiris the king. 587, 612
- 17 Youthful Horus (*Hr rnpy*) recognizes Osiris the king. 25, 767
- 18 Horus recognizes his father in Osiris the king. 580, 589, 767
- 19 *Hr špd* knows king. 330-31(C 112)

## RECITATION

- 20 Recitation which Horus made for his father the king. 257
- 21 Horus commanded to make (a recitation) for his father, the cloud-lord Orion (*wḏ n f yr t n yt f . . .*; might also possibly be 'he assigned the eye to his father . . .,' Orion here representing the king). 261
- 22 Horus has made (a recitation) for his ka, even Osiris the king, that latter may be satisfied. 582, 647
- 23 Recitation by Horus. 583(Osirian), 1264(non-Osirian)
- 24 King has come to Horus that latter may recite for him the powerful and good saying (*mdw ʕ ʔ nfr*) which he gave to Osiris, that king may thereby become powerful and great (*ʕ ʔ wr*). 1558
- 25 The son Horus has come to speak in behalf of Osiris the king. 1813

## RESURRECTION OR RESUSCITATION

- 26 Horus has caused Osiris the king to stand. 617, 640
- 27 The son Horus bids Osiris the king to stand. 1683
- 28 Horus and Thoth raise (*ts*) Osiris (the king) (from) upon his side and cause him to stand among (*m* in PM; but N has *m hnt*, 'before') the two divine enneads. 956
- 29 King is bidden to give his hand (*ʕ*) to Horus, that latter may cause him to stand. 1627, cf. 1796
- 30 Horus bids Osiris the king come forth (from tomb?) and awake.<sup>127</sup> 1753
- 31 Horus comes to king, parts his bandages, and casts off his bonds (*wḏ ʕ f sʔr w k hʔ ʕ md wt k*). 2202

## RESTORATION OF BODY

- 32 Libation is poured by Horus for Osiris the king.<sup>128</sup> 24, 765
- 33 Libations. See also 22(G 10)

<sup>126</sup> Geb; cf. 1032c.<sup>127</sup> Unnatural order of events.<sup>128</sup> Both incense and libation were intended to restore to the dead body its lost moisture. See A. M. Blackman in *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, I, 69.



E. Activities of Horus—

- 34 Horus has given to Osiris the king the latter's waters (*mw*). 106
- 35 Horus has come to unite (*y<sup>c</sup>b*) his father Osiris the king. 101
- 36 Horus has united Osiris the king. 584
- 37 Horus has united Osiris the king's limbs (*c<sup>c</sup>wt*). 617, 635
- 38 Horus has caused that the gods put Osiris the king together (*dmd*).<sup>129</sup>  
577, 645
- 39 Horus has put Osiris the king together, so that there is no disorder (*hnnty*)  
in him. 617, 635
- 40 The son Horus relieves intestinal pain which king suffers from having eaten  
an eye, so that king may live thereby. 192
- 41 Horus forms (*kd*) king and causes him to live (again) every day (as does Re  
the *shd<sup>c</sup> w* of the sky in 449). 450
- 42 Horus has caused Osiris the king to live. 614, 646
- 43 Horus has opened (*wp*) eye of Osiris the king, that latter may see therewith.  
610, 643, 1806
- 44 Horus established (*snf(y)*) for Osiris the king latter's two eyes. 644
- 45 Horus has not permitted that Osiris the king perish (*snw*). 617, 637
- 46 Horus does not permit that Osiris the king perish. 1753
- 47 Horus has not permitted that Osiris the king's face *nhrhr*. 644
- 48 On bodily restoration, cf. also 905(E 90), 1684(E 99)

PUNISHMENT OF ENEMIES

- 49 (When) Horus has spoken, Set bows himself (*ysd*) and bears (*wt*) king. 261
- 50 Horus has seized Set and put him beneath Osiris the king to bear (*wt*)  
latter and tremble beneath him as earth trembles. 581
- 51 Horus has put Osiris the king's enemy (*hfty*) beneath king's feet. 637
- 52 Horus has put Osiris the king's enemy beneath him to bear him. 642
- 53 Horus has caused Osiris the king's enemy to bear him. 649
- 54 Horus has put Osiris the king upon back of his enemy, that latter may not  
attack (*h<sup>3</sup>yw*) king. 651
- 55 Horus brings Set to king, has given Set to him, bowed down (*ksy*) beneath  
him. 1632
- 56 Horus has caused that Thoth drive back (*s<sup>c</sup>ht*) for Osiris the king Set's  
followers, and has brought them to king united (*ywn<sup>c</sup> w*), after repulsing  
(*s<sup>c</sup>hm*) for him the heart of Set. 575-76
- 57 Horus has caused that Thoth bring to Osiris the king latter's enemy. 651
- 58 Horus comes to reclaim Osiris the king from the gods (*yp<sup>c</sup> f tw m<sup>c</sup> ntr<sup>c</sup> w*).  
609
- 59 Horus has come to reclaim his father Osiris the king, and has proclaimed a  
royal decree (from) upon the seats of Anubis, bidding Thoth spare not  
those who wronged the king. 1335-36
- 60 The son Horus has given to king the gods, his enemies; Thoth brings them  
to king. 1979
- 61 Horus has caused that the gods avenge (*nd*) Osiris the king. 578
- 62 Horus has caused that Isis and Nephthys avenge Osiris the king. 584

<sup>129</sup> *Dmd* is used of putting together members (*c<sup>c</sup>wt*) in, e.g., 318, 828, 835. In the last two cases *dmd* is parallel to *y<sup>c</sup>b*.



## E. Activities of Horus—

- 63 Horus avenges king. 897
- 64 Horus avenges Osiris the king. 633, 634, 636, 1753
- 65 Horus has avenged king. 898
- 66 Horus has avenged Osiris the king. 582, 649, 1609, 1832
- 67 Horus has avenged Osiris the king without delay. 591, 618, cf. 1797
- 68 Horus has avenged his father the king. 1633, 1637
- 69 Horus has avenged his father (the king). 1728
- 70 Horus avenges what Set did against Osiris the king. 592
- 71 Horus has avenged king on his enemies. 758
- 72 The son Horus has smitten enemy of Osiris the king. 578
- 73 Horus has smitten and repelled for Osiris the king his enemy Set. 587
- 74 Horus, avenger of his father, has smitten him who smote Osiris the king, has avenged king on him who did evil against him. 1685
- 75 The son Horus smites him who smote Osiris the king, binds him who bound him, and puts enemy under his (Horus's)<sup>120</sup> eldest daughter, (dwelling) in *Kdm*. 1007-8PM
- 76 The son Horus has smitten him who smote Osiris the king, has slain him who slew him, has bound him who bound him, and has put enemy under king's eldest daughter, (dwelling) in *Kdm*. 1976-77
- 77 Horus has caused that Osiris the king seize his enemies so that none of them escape (*psdw*) him. 579
- 78 Horus has caused that Osiris the king recognize (*yp*) Set . . . and seize him with his hand (*qr·t*) so that he escape not (*m nhp·f*) from him. 582
- 79 Horus has rescued (*nhm*) Osiris the king from his enemy. 649
- 80 Horus has stretched out (*pd*) Osiris the king's enemy beneath king. 650
- 81 Horus has hacked off thighs of Osiris the king's enemies (*stp·n Hr hpš·w·hftly·w·k*) and brings them to king cut up, after removing their ka(s) from them. 653
- 82 Horus has repelled king's enemy; the *3kr·w* seize him not. 2202
- 83 On punishment of king's enemies through Horus, see also 1212(D 255), 1264-65(E 180), 1285(C 66), 1334(D 15)

## MOUTH

- 84 Horus has pressed (*mqr*) Osiris the king's mouth. 11, 644
- 85 Horus has opened (*wp*) Osiris the king's mouth. 11, 589, 644
- 86 Horus opens (*wn* and [*wp*]) king's mouth with that wherewith he opened (*wp*) mouth of his father Osiris, with the metal (*by<sup>3</sup>*) which came forth from Set, the adze [of metal which opened the mouth(s) of the gods, that king may go and speak in person (*d·t·f*) before the divine ennead in Prince-house in] Heliopolis and take the *wrr·t*-crown from (*hr*) Horus, lord of men (*nb·p<sup>c</sup>·t*). 13-14
- 87 King's mouth is opened (*wp*) by Horus with his little finger. 1330(G 9)
- 88 Horus, Set, and the two *u·wy·yb* spew out *smyn*-natron which opens (*wp*) king's mouth. 26
- 89 Horus has balanced Osiris the king's mouth against his bones. [1]2, [1]3, 644

<sup>120</sup> But N, as in 1977(E 76), has "thy," referring to king.

E. Activities of Horus—

FOOD

- 90 'Son of dead king' as Horus<sup>131</sup> gives to king a royal offering of bread and beer and the two 'pellets of incense' ( $p^3d \cdot wy$ ; or loaves of bread?) which came forth from Horus dwelling in the broad hall ( $ywy wsh \cdot t$ ), that he might satisfy ( $s \cdot htp$ ) king's heart therewith. 905N
- 91 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is asked to take king with him to this his great field ( $sh \cdot t \cdot k tw wr \cdot t$ ), which he made to fall 'because of' the gods ( $m dr n(r \cdot w)$ ,<sup>132</sup> of the evening and morning (meals) of which he eats, which is filled with 'Food' ( $Hw$ ), that king may eat and drink of the god's provisions. 1217-18
- 92 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is to place king's satiety above that of  $Yw \cdot t$ , the presider over her sisters. 1218
- 93 On furnishing of food by Horus, see also 695-96(H 5), 888(D 5)

PURIFICATION

- 94 Horus receives king to his two fingers, purifies ( $s \cdot (w)^b$ ) him in the jackal-lake ( $'mr \cdot s^3b$ ), cleanses ( $s \cdot fhw$ ) his ka in the Dewat-lake, and purifies ( $sk$ ) the flesh of his bodily ka with this which is upon Re's shoulders in the horizon. 372
- 95 (After) king and Re have purified themselves in Lake of Rushes, Horus wipes king's flesh and Thoth his legs. 519
- 96 (After) king has purified himself in Lake of Rushes, where Re did the same, Horus is to wipe his back, and Thoth his legs. 1247
- 97 Horus has expelled the evil which was upon king in latter's four-day period; Set has known not what he did against king in latter's eight-day period. 746
- 98 Horus of Hieraconpolis has given to king the four  $nm \cdot s \cdot t$ -jars and the four  $'3b \cdot t$ -jars . . . wherewith king is purified. 1293
- 99 Horus has come to purify and cleanse ( $w^b \cdot s \cdot (w)^b$ ) Osiris the king, to revivify ( $s \cdot n^h$ ) him, to collect ( $ynk$ ) for him his bones, to bring together ( $s^3k$ ) for him his  $nb \cdot t$ ,<sup>133</sup> to collect ( $ynk$ ) for him his knives ( $dm^3 \cdot wt$ ). 1684
- 100 On purification, see also 841(D 54), 1978(C 54)

CARRYING AND BEARING

- 101 Horus has given to Osiris the king his children to bear ( $wts$ ) king. 619
- 102 Horus has given to Osiris the king his children to carry ( $f^3$ ) king. 637, 1829
- 103 Horus has carried Osiris the king and bears him. 620
- 104 Horus carries king, Set lifts ( $s \cdot ts$ ) him. 1148
- 105 [Horus has carried Osiris the king in  $hnw$ -bar]que; he bears him [as] he bore his father. 1824
- 106 [Horus] has carried [Osiris] the king; [he bears him in] ' $hnw$ -barque'. 1826

<sup>131</sup> P has



<sup>132</sup> Breasted suggests "since (the time of) the gods."

<sup>133</sup> Det. is a man swimming.



## E. Activities of Horus—

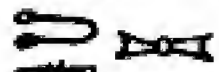

ASCENT<sup>134</sup>

- 107 Horus asks Osiris the king to give him his hand (°) ———. 68
- 108 (After) king has traversed Lily Lake in north of Nut (the sky), (Horus) of Dewat takes his hand and leads him (*škr D(w)šl(y) d·t·k*) to place where Orion is. 802
- 109 Horus is asked to give his arm (°) to king and to take (*m*) to himself his eye, which seems to be in king's head, that eye and king may both ascend to him. 1243
- 110 Horus brings king's bodily ka to the Great House (*ht·t·š·t*). 373
- 111 Horus and Set help king ascend to Dewat upon a ladder made for him by Re. 390
- 112 Re and Horus stand on either side of the ladder and 'lift'<sup>135</sup> it before (*hft*) Horus's father Osiris (here the king) at his going to his spirit. 472
- 113 '[Horus] is asked to open for king' the double doors of sky with the flame that is under the 'kettle' of the gods (*hr bhhw hr ykn·t·ntr·w*). 502
- 114 Horus, master of his sustenance of truth, is bidden to seal the double doors of sky and keep back the approachers of its doors as soon as he has taken king's ka to sky. 815
- 115 The son Horus leads Osiris the king in ways of sky. 1010
- 116 Horus is asked to take king with him, not to leave him boatless. 1030
- 117 Horus is asked to take king with him, and Thoth to ferry king over on tip of his wing. 1429
- 118 Horus opens (*wn*), Set protects (*hw*; or '(tries to) prevent'?) that king may shine in east side of sky like Re. 1465
- 119 King as son of Re is caused to come to him by Horus, Set, Geb, and the souls of Heliopolis and of Pe. 1492-95
- 120 For other connections of Horus with king's ascent, see 69-70(F 427), 456(D 275), 980(D 183), 1036(D 52), 1176(D 175), 1208-9(G 32, D 282), 1213(D 181), 1471(D 164), 1570(D 152), 2019(D 41), 2046(D 40), 2106(E 150)

## DEIFICATION

- 121 Set and Nephthys, Osiris and Isis, Thoth, and Horus are bidden to go and announce to the southern, northern, western, and eastern gods (except last group, called 'souls') respectively and their spirits the coming of the king as an imperishable spirit. 153-59
- 122 Horus, son of Osiris, puts king among the gods. 969P
- 123 King associates with the gods of the Underworld (*ntr·w 'nty·w'*), the Imperishable (Stars), leaning with them upon a *wšs*-scepter and a *q<sup>c</sup>m*-scepter, by command of Horus, the hereditary prince, the king of the gods. 1458
- 124 On deification, see also 633 etc. (C 109), 956(E 28)

<sup>134</sup> Cf. descent in 138(D 163).

<sup>135</sup> The verb  is properly "blind"; but context suggests that det. should have been .

E. Activities of Horus—

RULE

- 125 Horus has caused that the gods  $\dot{h}m^{136}$  to Osiris the king, wherever latter goes. 24, 766
- 126 Horus assigns to ( $yp\ n$ ) Osiris the king the hearts of the gods. 590
- 127 Horus has assigned to Osiris the king the gods, so that they have not escaped from ( $by^3\ r$ ) king, wherever latter has taken possession. 615
- 128 Horus has assigned to Osiris the king all the gods united ( $sm^3\ w$ ). 1831
- 129 Horus has brought ( $yny$ ) to Osiris the king all the gods at once, without one of them escaping from ( $by^3\ m^c$ ) him. 590, 647
- 130 Horus (or Geb?) has brought to Osiris the king the hearts of the gods. 634
- 131 Horus has caused that the gods follow Osiris the king. 611
- 132 Horus has given to Osiris the king all the gods, that they may follow king and that latter may control them ( $\dot{s}hm\ k\ ym\ \dot{s}n$ ). 620
- 133 Horus has caused the gods to ascend to Osiris the king, has given them to king to illumine his face. 613, 641, 1659
- 134 Horus has put Osiris the king in heart ( $\dot{h}^3t(y)$ ) of the gods and has caused that he take every crown ( $twy\ t$ ). 613, 648
- 135 Horus has grasped for Osiris the king the gods, so that they have not escaped from ( $by^3\ r$ ) king, wherever latter has gone. 615
- 136 Horus has caused king to enfold all the gods in his embrace ( $\dot{h}nw^c\ wy$ ) 1632
- 137 Horus has caused that his children count for ( $yp\ n$ )<sup>137</sup> Osiris the king, wherever latter takes possession. 24, 766
- 138 [Horus has given to Osiris the king his four child]ren to control. 1828
- 139 Horus has caused that king become a spirit before the spirits, that he gain control before the living ( $y^3\dot{h}\ k\ \dot{h}nt(y)\ y^3\dot{h}\ w\ \dot{s}hm\ k\ \dot{h}nt(y)\ ^c n\dot{h}\ w$ ). 903
- 140 Horus, son of Osiris, has put king over his (H's) spirits. 969N
- 141 Horus of Hieraconpolis has given to king latter's<sup>138</sup> spirits, the jackals. 2011
- 142 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is to place king as prince among the spirits, the Imperishable (Stars) who are in the north of the sky. 1220
- 143 [The son] Horus gives to king latter's  $mdw$ -staff before the spirits and his  $n\dot{h}b\ t$ -scepter before the Imperishable Stars. 1994
- 144 The two great gods (Horus and Thoth) have supported ( $tw^3$ ) king and establish his seat ( $yr\ \dot{s}ny\ y\dot{s}\ t\ k$ ) which is in ———. 1571
- 145 'Horus' ( $\dot{H}rw$ ) has put<sup>139</sup> Osiris the king on throne ( $n\dot{s}\ t$ ) of Re-Atum. 1686
- 146 King is bidden to take the  $wrr\ t$ -crown belonging to the Followers of Osiris, that he may thereby become more a spirit than the spirits, by command of Horus, lord of men ( $nb\ p^c\ t$ ). 1804
- 147 On rule, see also 634(F 140), 956(E 28), 1294(D 194), 1979(E 60)

<sup>136</sup> Breasted: "bow down."

<sup>137</sup> I.e., 'be credited to'.

<sup>138</sup> The pronoun here is in 2d per.: but 1294(D 194) has 3d per., referring to Horus.

<sup>139</sup> As Breasted notes, comparing 1692b,  $w\dot{d}n\ n\ f$  here is a scribal error for  $w\dot{d}\ n\ f$ .



## E. Activities of Horus—

## GLORIFICATION

- 148 Harakhte causes king to hear his fame ( $b^3 \cdot w$ ) and his praise ( $hsw \cdot t$ ) out of mouth of the two divine enneads. 1449  
 149 Horus<sup>140</sup> glorifies ( $\delta \cdot y^3 h$ ) his father (the king). 1712  
 150 Horus bids king stand, (when) he glorifies him and dispatches him to ascend to sky. 2106

## SATISFACTION

- 151 Horus satisfies ( $\delta \cdot htp$ ) king. 897  
 152 On satisfaction, see also 582 etc. (E 22), 583(F 426), 905(E 90)

## MISCELLANEOUS

- 153 Horus has come as embracer of Osiris the king ( $m \ shn \cdot k$ ). 11  
 154 Horus has come to embrace Osiris the king ( $shn \cdot f \ tw$ ). 575  
 155 Horus has shone in Osiris the king's presence ( $y^3 h \cdot n \ Hr \ hr \cdot k$ ) and in latter's embrace ( $m \ hnw \cdot w \cdot wy \cdot k(y)$ ). 585  
 156 Horus has shone again in Osiris the king's presence ( $y^3 h \cdot n \cdot f \ 'n \ hr \cdot k$ ). 636  
 157 Horus has found Osiris the king, and has shone (or 'become a spirit') in (or 'through') him ( $y^3 h \cdot n \cdot f \ ym \cdot k$ ).<sup>141</sup> 612, 648  
 158 Horus has bound himself to Osiris the king, and has not parted from him ( $n \ wp \cdot n \cdot f \ yr \cdot k$ ). 613, 646  
 159 [Horus unites with (or 'protects'?) Osiris the king ( $hnm \cdot f \ tw$ ).]<sup>142</sup> 1824  
 160 When Osiris the king ascends to sky to Re, Horus<sup>143</sup> fraternizes with him. 1016P  
 161 Horus has caused that the gods fraternize with Osiris the king. 577, 645  
 162 Horus does for king that which he did for Osiris. 970  
 163 Horus comes to king to do for him that which he did for his father Osiris, [that he may be more alive than the sky-dwellers and exist] more truly than do those on earth. 2115  
 164 He who is among the falcons (Horus, named just previously) is to hasten ( $\delta yn$ ) to king's ka. 1672  
 165 King's son Horus comes to meet him. 1702  
 166 Horus bids king stand, Set bids him sit, while his arm is taken by Re (so N; W has: "'take his arm,' says Re"). 473  
 167 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is to cause king to sit because of his righteousness ( $m^3 c \cdot t$ ) and to stand because of his reverence ( $ym^3 h$ ). 1219

<sup>140</sup> But it is Re who glorifies the king in 795(G 39), and Geb who glorified Osiris as a god in 1013(G 28).

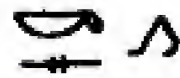
<sup>141</sup> Cf. same phrase with pronouns interchanged in 633 and 1637(C 109). Breasted renders 612: "(that) there is profit for him in thee," and 648: "he has pleasure in thee." Kees (*Opfertanz*, p. 208, n. 23) declares that "shine" is not in early texts written with the  $y^3 h$ -bird which appears in these and the preceding passages.

<sup>142</sup> "Unites with" is favored by parallel phrase "thou art equipped with 'him' ( $hnm \cdot k \ ym \cdot f$ )" in 1827; and  $hnm$ +dir. obj.= "unite with" in *Urkunden des äg. Altertums*, IV, 54 (Eighteenth Dynasty). But the similar phrase in *Sinuhe* R 7 uses the preposition  $m$ ; and  $hnm$ +dir. obj.= "protect" several times in Pyr., e.g., in 638 and its parallels.

<sup>143</sup> MN have "Set."

E. Activities of Horus—

168 Given to king is



by Horus. 1048

169 'Re, Eastern Horus, and Harakhte, treated as one god,' is to *mama m phr·t* (for king). 1088

170 Re is to purify himself for king, and Horus is to adorn (*škr*, for *hkr*) himself for him. 1244

171 Horus has not permitted king to *bhn*. 1633

172 Horus is bidden to betake himself to king's pyramid and to be not distant from it. 1657

173 [(When) king has ascended from lake of life, having purified himself in lake of] the firmament and having become Wepwawet, his son Horus leads him. 1979

174 Horus decks king with the linen (*t³yt(y)·t*) which came forth from him. 2094

175 Horus has set up (*šht*; or 'plaited') his arbor (*sh*) over king's head (*hr d³d³·k*; or possibly 'in king's behalf'); Set has parted (*pšš*) king's 'ribs' (*wrm·wt*).<sup>144</sup> 2100

176 Horus provides king with the eye. 19 etc. (F 54), 21 etc. (F 45), 54(F 32), 65(F 55), 104 etc. (F 53), 609(F 64), 742(F 39), 1795(F 40)

177 Other unclassified services of Horus appear in 1684(E 99), 2101-2(D 208), 2213(D 153)

b) Unfavorable

178 Osiris and Horus count not king's heart (*n yp·f yb·k*) and gain no control over his heart (*n šhm·f m h³t(y)·k*). 145

179 Father Osiris and son Horus have gained no control over king. 146

180 (One) Horus warns away from king's pyramid him whom (another) Horus guards (*twr*)<sup>145</sup> and Set protects (*mk*), Osiris guards and *Hrtj* protects, Isis guards and Nephthys protects, *Mhnty·yr·ty* guards and Thoth protects, and the *H³ty·w* guard and the *Ymy·w-y³w* protect. 1264-65

181 If Osiris, Horus, Set, *Hnty·yr·ty*, Thoth, Isis, Nephthys, or the *H³ty·w* and *Ymy·w-y³w* come with their evil coming, king's pyramid-temple is told not to open its arms to them but to bid them begone. 1267-74

F. Eye of Horus—

I. EPITHETS OF THE EYE

1 *y³b·t*, "left." 451(F 135, F 82), 1231(F 143)

2 *š³·t-wn·w*, "numerous of beings." 901

3 *w³d·t*, "green." 96(F 166), 107, 108(F 166)

<sup>144</sup> Breasted so renders last phrase without question, and interprets that the "ribs" were spread out as supports.

<sup>145</sup> Sethe (*Verbum*, I, p. 144) gives for *twr* "reinigen, schützen." Its parallelism here with *mk* is suggested by Pyr. 350a, where again *Hrtj* and Osiris are both hostile to king. Gardiner in *Rec. de Trav.*, XXXII, 16 (note on *Sinuhe* B 11), gives "stand in awe of" as its root meaning.



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 4 *wr·t*, "large." 451(F 135, F 82)
- 5 *wr·t-b³·w*, "great of honor." 901
- 6 *wšr·t*, "powerful." 1234(F 152)
- 7 *wš³·t*, "sound." 21, 54(F 198), 55(F 78), 900, 1642(F 150)
- 8 *bnr·t*, "sweet." 100, 111, 591
- 9 *ndm·t-št(y)*, "sweet of odor." 1643
- 10 *ndš·(t)*, "small." 61 and 88(F 110)
- 11 *rwš·t*, "flourishing." 113(F 206), 614
- 12 *hš·t*, "white." 33(F 424), 48(F 115), 96 and 108(F 166)
- 13 *šwy·t*, uncertain. 600
- 14 *kš³·t*, uncertain. 2087(F 122)
- 15 *km·t*, "black." 33(F 424)
- 16 *šs·t*, "bound." 1227(F 97)
- 17 *dšr·t*, "red."<sup>146</sup> 901

## II. MAGICAL OR MYSTIC NAMES OF THE EYE

- 18 *w³h·t-nšr*, "offering<sup>147</sup> of the god." 614
- 19 *w³g*, a feast.<sup>148</sup> 2185
- 20 *wr·t-hk³·w*, "sorceress (a crown)." 1795
- 21 *n·t*, "city." 1595
- 22 *h³t(y)·t*, "prime oil." 453
- 23 *hknw*, an ointment. 454
- 24 *grg·wt*, "settlements." 1595
- 25 *šr·t*, "willow-tree." 453
- 26 *šhn·t*, '= *šhnw*, "olive oil"<sup>149</sup> 454

## III. RELATIONS OF HORUS TO THE EYE

- 27 *Hr Š³t(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, as one god, is bidden to ascend to (*y³k r*), and does ascend to (*y³ n*), his large left eye. 452
- 28 Horus brought (*yny*; or 'carried off'? N adds: 'and supported (*tw³*)') the gods by means of the eye. 51
- 29 Horus performed purification (*grg·bw*) for his eye. 1233
- 30 Alas for (*yhy n*) Horus because of (*n*) his eye; alas for Set because of his testicles. 594
- 31 "He" (Horus or better Set?) *yth*'ed the eye. 60 etc. (F 106)
- 32 Horus has taken his eye (and put it) into Osiris the king's forehead (*yt·t·n·f r h³·t·k*). 54
- 33 Horus took (*yty*) the eye. 107
- 34 Horus has taken his eye and given (*rdy*) it to king. 1240

<sup>146</sup> Det. shows eye here is the Red Crown.

<sup>147</sup> *W³h·t* has loaf and jar determinatives in 101c.

<sup>148</sup> Text has omitted pronominal suffix after *rn*, so this "name" may possibly apply directly to Horus.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. 54(F 368).

**F. Eye of Horus—**

- 35 Horus took his eye, rescued (*nḥm*) it from his enemies, (so that) Set 'is not profited<sup>110</sup> thereby. 2071
- 36 "He" (Horus or better Set?) 'h'ed the eye. 105(F 109)
- 37 Horus 'rejoiced over' (*w³g*) his eye. 2185
- 38 *Hr Š³t(y)*, *Hr ksm̄t(y)*, and Eastern Horus, as one god, is bidden to put ((*w*)*d(y)*) his large left eye in his forehead, that he may *ḥwrw* thereby. 453
- 39 Horus put that which was in his forehead (eye here representing prime oil) on crown of head (*wp·t*) of his father Osiris. 742
- 40 Horus has put his eye in Osiris the king's forehead. 1795
- 41 Horus 'assigned (*wḏ*) the eye to' his father . . . Orion (here the king). 261(E 21)
- 42 Horus circles about (*phr*) behind (*m š3*; or 'in search of'?) the eye. 670
- 43 Horus (dwelling) in Osiris the king is bidden to take (*m*) the eye. 19, 21, 55, 831
- 44 Horus is bidden to take his eye. 1243(E 109), 1614
- 45 Horus has completely filled (*mḥ*) Osiris the king with his eye. 21, 114, 614, 18[58]
- 46 Horus filled his empty eye with his full eye (cosmetic). 1682
- 47 "He" (Horus?) *ms³*'ed the eye. 85
- 48 Horus spoke (*mdw*) concerning the eye in presence of Geb (*ḥr·š ḥr Gbb*). 1643
- 49 Horus *nn*'ed ('went striding off' or 'did obeisance'?) after the eye. 1595(F 85)
- 50 The son Horus has rescued (*nḥm*) his eye from Osiris the king's enemy and given it to king. 578
- 51 Horus has rescued his eye from Set and given it to Osiris the king. 591
- 52 Horus rescued his eye. See also 1595(F 85), 2071(F 35)
- 53 Horus has given (*rdy*) (his eye) to king. 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 1240(F 34)
- 54 Horus has given his eye to Osiris the king. 19, 578(F 50), 591(F 51), 614, 634, 641, 1805
- 55 Horus has given his eye into hand (') of Osiris the king. 65
- 56 Horus gave his eye to Osiris. 1643
- 57 Horus has not permitted (*rdy*) his eye (Egypt or some part thereof) to hearken to Westerners, Easterners, Southerners, Northerners, nor those in the midst of (*ḥry·w-yb*) the land. 1588
- 58 Horus picked up (*ḥ³m*) the eye. 93
- 59 Horus rejoiced (*ḥ³y*) at approach (*ḥšfw*) of his eye (when) it was given (back) to him before his father Geb. 977
- 60 Horus is praised (*ḥkn*) thereby. 454(F 89)
- 61 Horus is satisfied with (*ḥtp ḥr*) his eye. '58', 2072
- 62 Horus was satisfied with his eye. 59

<sup>110</sup> Sethe (quoted by Breasted) thinks

4534

a denominative verb from *yš·t*.



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 63 Horus (dwelling) in Osiris the king is bidden to equip (*htm*) himself with the eye. 21
- 64 Horus has equipped Osiris the king with his eye, has united (*š·dmy*) his eye to king. 609
- 65 "He" (Horus or better Set?) *hny*'ed the eye. 76 etc. (F 113)
- 66 Horus falls (*hr*) because of (*n*) his eye; the bull (so W; T has 'Set') collapses (*šbn*) because of his testicles. 418
- 67 Horus falls because of (*hr*) his eye; Set suffers (*p<sup>3</sup>š*)<sup>151</sup> because of his testicles. 679
- 68 "He" (Horus?) *hhr*'ed the eye. 108
- 69 "He" (Horus) took possession of (*hnm*; or 'protected') the eye. 51
- 70 Horus goes to the eye (*sy r·š*). 31
- 71 "He" (Horus or better Set?) *šhs*'ed the eye. 109(F 114)
- 72 Horus recognized (*šy<sup>3</sup>*) his eye in the Prince-house that is in Heliopolis (*ht·t·šr ymy·t Ywnw*). 1614
- 73 "He" (Horus?) handed over the eye (*y·š·(y)p·t·n·f*). 109
- 74 "He" (Horus?) '—ed upon' his eye (*y·šfkk·t·n·f hr·š*). 51
- 75 "He" (Horus?) *š·swn*'ed the water 'by means of' (*m*; or 'from' or 'in' or 'into'?) the eye. 88
- 76 "He" (Horus or better Set?) *š·šd*'ed the eye. 108(F 116)
- 77 Horus (dwelling) in Osiris the king is bidden to unite (*š·dm(y)*) the sound eye to his face. 55
- 78 Horus united his sound eye. 55
- 79 Horus has united his eye to Osiris the king. 609(F 64)
- 80 Horus goes to the eye (*šm yr·š*). 83
- 81 Horus went about (*šn*) in the protection of his eye. 195 etc. (C 92)
- 82 *Hr Š<sup>3</sup>lt(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, as one god, is asked to receive (*šsp*) his large left eye from king in sound condition, with its waters (*mw*), its colors (*tr·w*), and its 'throats' (*ht(y)·w(t)*) in it. 451
- 83 Horus took (*šd*) the eye from Set. 95
- 84 Horus built (*kd*) the eye. 1589(F 92)
- 85 Horus settled (*grg*) the eye (Egypt or some part thereof), 'went striding off' (*nn(yw)·f*; Breasted takes as *nyny*, 'did obeisance') after it, and rescued (*nhm*) it from every green thing which Set did against it. 1595
- 86 Horus settled the eye. See also 1589(F 92)
- 87 Horus supported (*tw<sup>3</sup>*) the gods by means of the eye. 51(F 28)
- 88 Horus is to *trurw* thereby. 453(F 38)
- 89 *Hr Š<sup>3</sup>lt(y)*, *Hr šsmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, as one god, sparkles (*lhnhn*) thereby among the gods, and is praised (*hkn*) thereby. 454
- 90 Horus besought his eye from (*dbh m<sup>c</sup>*) Set. 65
- 91 Horus adorned (*db<sup>3</sup>*) his eye (Egypt or some part thereof) with both his arms (*·wy*). 1588, 1596(C 94)
- 92 Horus adorned the eye (as above), built (*kd*) it, settled (*grg*) it. 1589
- 93 Others provide Horus with his eye. See 451(F 135), 535(D 198), 946(F 98), 1235 etc. (F 203), 1239(F 197), 1643(F 173)

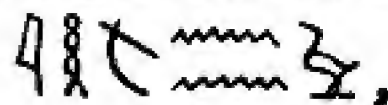
<sup>151</sup> So Sethe, *Verbum*, I, p. 153.

F. Eye of Horus—

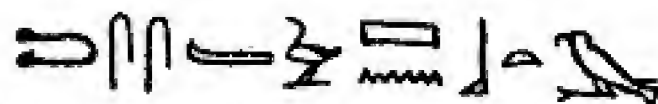
- 94 Other connections of Horus with his eye. 19 etc. (F 309), 61 etc. (F 227), 72(F 243), 74(F 181), 86(F 182), 737(F 149), 901(F 263), 1407(F 259), 1589-92(F 279), 1593-94(F 291), 1756(F 316), 2072(F 286, F 308, F 289), 2088(F 318), 2090(F 196), 2091(F 120)

IV. RELATIONS OF OTHERS TO THE EYE

- 95 The spirits (*y<sup>3</sup>h·w*). 57(F 235), 579(F 159)  
 96 Osiris. Besides references to king (F 130 ff.), see 742(F 39), 1643(F 56)  
 97 *M<sup>3</sup>-h<sup>3</sup>-f*, the ferryman, called also *Hr-f-h<sup>3</sup>-f*, is bidden to bring (*yny*) for king the bound (*ts·t*) eye of Horus which is in Field of 'Rowers' (*sh·t-hnn·w*),<sup>152</sup> namely (the barque) "Eye of Khnum." 1227  
 98 The ferryman (*mhnty*) is bidden to bring to Horus his eye and to Set his testicles. 946  
 99 The gods (*nr·w*) 'crushed' (*p<sup>3</sup>*) eye of Horus, that they might eat (*wšb*) there(of). 117  
 100 The gods who ferry over on wing of Thoth to yonder side of Lily Lake to east side of sky to speak with (*md·t hft*) Set about (*hr*) eye of Horus are entreated to ferry king over with them to same place for same purpose. 595-96  
 101 The gods fear before (*nr n*) eye of Horus. 1755  
 102 The gods. See also 51(F 28), 634(F 140), 737(F 149), 1147(F 236), 1231(F 143), 2075(F 160)  
 103 Re. 2090(F 319)  
 104 'The hoers', "they who wear the skin" (former written



to which



is parallel), have swallowed ('*m*) the eye. 118

- 105 Khnum. 1227(F 97)  
 106 "He" (Set?) 'confined' (*yth* for *rtth*) the eye. 60, 73, 77, 78, 86  
 107 Set took (*yty*) the eye. 1233, [2213]  
 108 "He" (Set?) is not to swallow ('*m*) the eye. 92(F 179)  
 109 "He" (Set?) 'withheld' ('*h*) the eye.<sup>153</sup> 105  
 110 Set ate of (*wnm m*) the small eye of Horus. 61, 88  
 111 The eye was wrested (*hp*) from Set. 36, 39  
 112 Set swallowed (*hnp*) the eye. 1839(F 218)  
 113 "He" (Set?) 'swallowed' (*h<sup>3</sup>nf* and *hnf* resp.) the eye. 76, 95  
 114 "He" (Set?) 'carried it off' (*shs*).<sup>154</sup> 109  
 115 [Finger of Set causes] the white eye of Horus [to see (*š·m<sup>33</sup>*)]. 48

<sup>152</sup> Or perhaps "Field of Conflict": for, while det. of *hnnw* is a ship in P, in M it is a (mutilated) man with weapon. Cf. "that place where they fought" in 1242(F 204).

<sup>153</sup> Cf. 99(F 180).

<sup>154</sup> Cf. 97(F 183).



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 116 "He" (Set?) 'took' (*š·šd*)<sup>155</sup> the white and the green eye of Horus. 108  
 117 Set 'tramples' (*ty*)<sup>156</sup> the eye. 73  
 118 Set. See also 20(F 288), 48(F 276), 65(F 90), 84(F 246), 95(F 83), 591  
 (F 51), 594(F 278), 595-96(F 100), 1242(F 204), 1407(F 259), 1593-  
 94(F 291), 1595(F 85), 1742(F 226), 2071(F 35)  
 119 Shu is bidden to bear (*wš*) eye of Horus to sky, to the *šhdw* of the sky. 2091  
 120 Shu is bidden to go (*sy*) as<sup>157</sup> one who shall row (*ššw·t(y)·f(y)*) Horus  
 'on account of' (*hr*) his eye. 2091  
 121 Geb gives (*rdy*) to king that which (was) in forehead of Horus. 139  
 122 Geb has lifted up (*š·ts*) the *k<sup>33</sup>·t* eye. 2087  
 123 Geb. See also 977(F 59), 1643(F 48)  
 124 Thoth is to bring (*yny*) king bearing (*hr*) the eye. 58  
 125 Thoth is bidden to set on (*(w)d(y)*) for king the eye of Horus (king's head).<sup>158</sup>  
 830  
 126 Thoth is bidden to ascend (*pr*) to king bearing the eye. 58  
 127 Thoth avenged (*nd*) the eye. 2213  
 128 Thoth is bidden to give (*rdy*) the eye to king. 58  
 129 Thoth. See also 43(F 294), 594(F 278), 976(F 258)  
 130 King is the eye of Horus. 698(F 280), 976(F 300), 1147, 1460(F 409)  
 131 Osiris the king is bidden to unite (*y<sup>c</sup>b*) the eye to his mouth. 60, 72  
 132 King is not left boatless (*ywy*), (for) he possesses (*hr*) the eye. 1429  
 133 King *ywg*'s after the eye. 1067(F 229)  
 134 King is bidden to assign (*yp*) the eye to himself. 100, 111, 591  
 135 King brings (*yny*) to *Hr Ššt(y)*, *Hr ššmt(y)*, and Eastern Horus, considered  
 as one god, latter's large left eye. 451  
 136 King brings to Horus his eye. 535(D 228)  
 137 Osiris the king is to betake himself to (*ys<sup>3</sup> r*) the eye. 82  
 138 Osiris the king is to take (*yty*) the eye. 67, 1838  
 139 Osiris the king takes the eye (wine) to his mouth. 36  
 140 Osiris the king is to take *wrr·t*-crown before the gods by means of the eye.  
 634  
 141 King is to take *wrr·t*-crown by means of the eye. See also 737(F 149),  
 2075(F 160)  
 142 King has not swallowed (*‘m*) eye of Horus nor a member (*‘t*) of Osiris,  
 that he should die because of either. 1450

<sup>155</sup> This verb in both 96(F 184) and 108(F 116) may have nothing to do with *šd*, "take," for writing and subject alike differ, e.g., in 95(F 83).

<sup>156</sup> Cf. the reduplicated form *tyty* in Erman's *Glossar*. Comparison of 73(F 117) and 60(F 185) shows that Set is the offender in both cases.

<sup>157</sup> The writing



In 2091(F 120) seems to be a scribal error, for sense requires action favorable to Horus. In 2090(F 196) *m* does in fact stand alone.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. 639 and 10b.

F. Eye of Horus—

- 143 King stands at (*h<sup>c</sup> r*) that left eye of Horus, where<sup>in</sup> (*m*; or 'by' or 'concerning which')<sup>160</sup> the word of the gods is heard. 1231
- 144 King has purified himself (*w<sup>c</sup>b*) with the eye of Horus; his injury (*šqb*) has been removed by the two falconesses of Osiris (*qr·ty-Yšyr*, Isis and Nephthys). 308, 312
- 145 Osiris the king opens (*wp*) his mouth with the eye of Horus (wine). 36
- 146 King is to open his mouth with the eye. 39, 63, 92, 93, 106
- 147 Osiris the king is to open his mouth with that which lays hold of him (*mḥ·t ym·k*, the eye, here wine). 36
- 148 King becomes (*wn*) Presider over the Westerners by means of the eye. 139(F 161)
- 149 King is bidden to clothe himself in (*wnḥ m*) the eye of Horus which is in *T<sup>3</sup>y·t*, that it may be king's *ky·t* in presence of the gods and the means of his recognition (*m·šy<sup>3</sup>·t*) by them, that he may take (*yty*) *wrr·t*-crown by means of it from the gods and from Horus, lord of men (*nb-p<sup>c</sup>·t*). 737
- 150 King is bidden to put on (*wnḥ*) the sound eye of Horus which is in *T<sup>3</sup>y·t*. 1642
- 151 King is bidden to put on eye of Horus, to receive (*šsp*) it upon himself, that it may unite (*dmy*) with his flesh and that he may ascend (*pr*) thereby and the gods see him decked (*db<sup>3</sup>*) therewith. 844-45
- 152 King puts on (*wš*) the White Crown (*ḥd·t*) the powerful (*wšr·t*) eye of Horus there. 1234
- 153 Osiris the king is bidden to put ((*w*)*d*(*y*)) the eye within himself (*mm·k*), that "he" (king's enemy) may fear before him (*nr·f n·k*). 249
- 154 Osiris the king is bidden to put the eye within himself, that his every enemy may fear before him. 614
- 155 Osiris the king is to put the eye unto himself (*ḥr·k*). 1798, [18]08
- 156 King is to put the eye ('butter or cheese') in his mouth. 31
- 157 Osiris the king has put the eye in his mouth. 77
- 158 King puts on crown of his head (*wp·t*) that which was in forehead of Horus (eye here representing prime oil). 742T
- 159 Osiris the king is to become a soul (*b<sup>3</sup>*) and gain control (*šḥm*) before the spirits by means of the eye. 579
- 160 King becomes a soul, gains control, receives obeisance (*w<sup>3</sup>š*), and takes (*yty*) *wrr·t*-crown among the gods, by means of the eye. 2075
- 161 King becomes a soul, gains control, and becomes (*wn*) Presider over the Westerners, by means of that which (*was*) in forehead of Horus. 139
- 162 Osiris the king 'crushes' (*p<sup>3</sup>*) eye of Horus (cakes) in order to eat. 35, 78
- 163 King is to ascend (*pr*) thereby. 845(F 151)
- 164 Osiris the king is to carry (*f<sup>3</sup>*) the eye to his face. 61
- 165 King is bidden to take (*m*) the eye of Horus. 19, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, [43], [48], 51, 59, 60, 61, 64, 72-74, 76-78, 80, 82-89, 92-95, 97-100, 105-10, 117, 1756, 1807, 1839, 1840, 2033
- 166 Osiris the king is bidden to take both the white and the green eye of Horus. 96, 108

<sup>160</sup> Cf. 595-96(F 100).



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 167 Osiris the king is to see ( $m^3 \cdot k$ ) by means of the eye of Horus.<sup>160</sup> 641, 1805, 1807, 1808
- 168 King speaks with ( $mdw \cdot f \cdot hft$ ) Set about eye of Horus. 596(F 100)
- 169 The eye was rescued ( $nhm$ ) for king. 39, 40
- 170 King is to  $nhh$  the eye unto himself. 21, 115, 1068, 1881
- 171 King is to  $nhh$  (the eye) unto himself. 100, 112, 216, 591
- 172 Osiris the king 'fed upon' ( $nshsb hr$ ) the eye. 64
- 173 'King' has given ( $rdy$ ) the eye (back) to Horus to equip ( $htm$ ) his face therewith. 1643
- 174 The eye is presented ( $hmk$ ) to king. 1881
- 175 King sought ( $hh$ ) the eye in Pe, found ( $gm$ ) it in Heliopolis. 1242
- 176 King is to be satisfied with ( $htp hr$ ) the eye. '58', 59
- 177 King is to equip ( $htm$ ) himself with the eye. 40, 901
- 178 King is to equip his face with the eye (incense). 19, 20, 29
- 179 Osiris the king is to prevent ( $hw$ ) that "he" (Set?) swallow ( $m$ ) the eye. 92
- 180 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Set?) 'withhold' ( $h$ ) the eye. 99
- 181 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Horus?) suffer ( $p^3s$ )<sup>161</sup> because of ( $hr$ ) the eye. 74
- 182 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Horus?) suffer from the eye ( $mn \cdot f \cdot s(y)$ ). 86
- 183 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Set?) 'carry off' ( $shs$ ) the eye. 97
- 184 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Set?) 'take' ( $s \cdot sd$ )<sup>162</sup> the white and the green eye of Horus. 96
- 185 Osiris the king is to prevent that "he" (Set) 'trample' ( $ty$ ) the eye.<sup>166</sup> 60
- 186 King advances ( $hnt$ ) possessing ( $hr$ ) the eye of Horus, and sits upon seat of the gods. 1241
- 187 Osiris the king embraces ( $shn$ ) the eye. 80
- 188 King is in embrace of eye of Horus. 600, 1242
- 189 King punished ( $ss$ ) his enemies by means of the eye. 1240(F 429)
- 190 Osiris the king is to assign ( $y \cdot s \cdot (y)p$ ) the eye to himself. 87
- 191 [Osiris the king is not to let] go of ( $[s \cdot f]hh$ ) the eye. 43
- 192 Osiris the king is not to  $s \cdot hbnbn$  the eye. 76
- 193 Osiris the king is to drive it back ( $s \cdot hm$ ) from himself. 59
- 194 King is to gain control ( $shm$ ) by means of the eye. 139(F 161), 579(F 159), 2075(F 160)
- 195 King is to 'assume' ( $s \cdot ht$ ) the eye to himself. 46, 100, 111, 591
- 196 King is to go ( $sy$ ) as<sup>167</sup> one who shall row ( $m \cdot shw \cdot t(y) \cdot f(y)$ ) Horus 'on account of' ( $hr$ ) his eye. 2090
- 197 King fastens on ( $s \cdot ts$ ) for Horus that which came forth from latter's head. 1239
- 198 King is to unite ( $s \cdot dm(y)$ ) to his face the sound eye of Horus (cosmetic). 54

<sup>160</sup> In 610 and 1806(E 43), after Horus has bestowed his eye on the king, he opens "thy (the king's, title having been transferred by the previous act) eye, that thou mayest see thereby."

<sup>161</sup> Used of Set in 679(F 67).

F. Eye of Horus—

- 199 King is to follow (*šmš*) eye of Horus to sky, to the *šhdw* of the sky. 2090  
 200 King is to receive (*šsp*) his bread, even the eye of Horus. 63  
 201 King is to receive the eye upon himself. 844(F 151)  
 202 King is to take (*šd*) the eye. 1354  
 203 King ascending to sky takes eye of Horus to latter. 1235, 1237, 1239  
 204 King took the eye of Horus from head of Set in that place where they fought. 1242  
 205 King's heart is to be refreshed by possession of the eye (*kb hr-š*, libation). 22  
 206 Osiris the king is to '*k<sup>3</sup>p<sup>100</sup>*' the flourishing eye within himself (*ym-k ym-k*), that his enemy may fear before him (*nr n-k*). 113  
 207 King found (*gm*) the eye. 1242(F 175), 2089, 2090  
 208 Osiris the king is to 'satisfy' (*d<sup>3</sup>p*) himself with the eye. 110  
 209 King is the '—' falcon (*byk ngg*) encircling (*dbn*) the eye of Horus of Dewat (*Hr hry-yb D(w)<sup>3</sup> (t)*). 1959  
 210 King tastes (*dp*) the eye (a loaf). 38  
 211 The gods are to see king decked (*db<sup>3</sup>*) with the eye. 845(F 151)  
 212 Others than Horus<sup>100</sup> provide king with the eye. 18 etc. (F 220), 20 etc. (F 215), 22(F 216), 58(F 124, 126, 128), 139(F 121), 216(F 214), 742MN (F 217), 830(F 125), 1068(F 219), 1227(F 97), 1755(F 221)  
 213 Other connections of king with the eye. 12(F 305), 18(F 312), 19(F 314), 20(F 274, 288), 20 etc. (F 310), 38(F 273), 40(F 241), [43] etc. (F 296), 57(F 269, 235), 64 etc. (F 306), 67(F 262), 72(F 295), 79 (F 304), 87 (F 281), 93(F 302), 94(F 275), 104(F 299), 116(F 283), 758(F 228, 339), 846(F 270), 901(F 263), 976(F 282), 1067(F 229), 1241(F 311), 1407 (F 259), 1754(F 313), 1800-1801(F 298), 2033(F 256), 2076(F 285)  
 214 'Priest' (1st per. throughout the following group) has assigned (*yp*) the eye to king. 216  
 215 'Priest' brings (*yny*) the eye to king. 20, 22, 31, 54, 846, 1794, 2074  
 216 'Priest' brings the eye (libation) under king's soles (*kb-wy*). 22  
 217 'Priest' puts (*(w)d(y)*) on crown of king's head (*wp-t*) that which was in forehead of Horus (eye here representing prime oil). 742MN  
 218 'Priest' rescued (*n<sup>3</sup>hm*) the eye from Set (after) latter had swallowed (*hnp*) it. 1839  
 219 'Priest' gives (*rdy*) the eye to king. 1068  
 220 'Priest' has given the eye to Osiris the king. 18, 29, 66, 216, 1808  
 221 'Priest' has decked (*db<sup>3</sup>*) Osiris the king with the eye (linen). 1755  
 222 "They" (obscure) come '—' by means of (or 'in' or 'from'?) the eye of Horus (*yw-šn*)

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*ym-š*). 89

<sup>100</sup> Probably scribal error,

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for *d*: cf. 249 and 614(F 153-54).

<sup>101</sup> See latter summarized under E 176.



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 223 "They" spewed out (*bš*) the eye. 92  
 224 "They" 'eat' (*y·nšb·t·šn*) the eye. 104  
 225 "They" 'ate' (*y·nšb·t·n·šn*) the eye. 98  
 226 "Put ye" (read

— 44

- as *rdy·y*, impv. pl.) the eye of Horus upon wing of his brother Set. 1742  
 227 "They" *hbm*'ed eye of Horus against him. 61, 89

## V. ACTIONS, CIRCUMSTANCES, AND QUALITIES OF THE EYE

- 228 The eye comes (*yy*) to king and addresses (*mdw*) him. 758  
 229 The eye comes (*yw*) to king at first of the ten(-day period), while he *ywg*'s after it. 1067  
 230 The eye is conceived (*ywr·t*). 698(F 280)  
 231 The eye is 'greater than' (<sup>3</sup> *r*) king. 116(F 283)  
 232 The eye lives (*nḥ*). 2050(F 240)  
 233 The eye is distant from king (*wšš·š ḥr·k*). 1881  
 234 The eye (king's pyramid and mortuary temple) is pure (*wḥ*). 1277  
 235 The eye opens (*wp*) king's way before (*hnt*) the spirits. 57  
 236 The eye is mighty against men (*wšr·t yr r(m)ḥ·(t)*), victorious (*nḥt*) against gods.<sup>104</sup> 1147  
 237 The eye spits not (nor) spews (*n wg·š bšš·š*). 1460P(l. 661)  
 238 The eye spat and spews (*wgy·t bšš·t*). 1460P(II. 774-75)M  
 239 The eye is sound (*wḏš*). 21, 451(F 82)  
 240 The eye of Horus which is in Heliopolis is sound and lives. 2050  
 241 The eye has not escaped from (*byš r*) king. 40  
 242 The eye spews (*bšš*) or spews not. 1460(F 237-38)  
 243 The eye 'purged' (*bd*) mouth of Horus. 72  
 244 In (*m*) Heliopolis. 1242(F 175), 2050(F 240)  
 245 In Pe. 1242(F 175)  
 246 In forehead (*ḥš·t*) of Horus and that of Set respectively. 83-84  
 247 In Houses of Red Crown (*ḥt·wt-n·t*). 56(F 264)  
 248 In Field of 'Rowers' (*šḥ·t-hnn·w*). 1227(F 97)  
 249 In (city of) *Tšy·t*. 737(F 149), 1642(F 150), 1794, 2074<sup>105</sup>  
 250 In *Dp*. 56(F 264)  
 251 The eye is to see (*mš*) Horus. 2088(F 318)  
 252 The eye is that which lays hold of king (*mḥ·t ym·k*). 36(F 147)  
 253 Born (*mš·t*) every day. 698(F 280)  
 254 Is king's means of recognition (*m·šyš·t*). 737(F 149)  
 255 Addresses (*mdw*) king. 758(F 228)  
 256 Belongs to Osiris the king (*n(y)-ḥw š(y)*, in literal instead of the usual inverted sense). 2033  
 257 The eye *nbšbš*'s. 98, 104

<sup>104</sup> Or "more . . . than . . ." in both cases, as Breasted renders.

<sup>105</sup> Emend according to 1794.

F. Eye of Horus—

- 258 The eye *nbdbd*'s upon wing of Thoth in east (left) side of ladder of the god. 976
- 259 The eye has *nhh*'ed unto 'king and Horus'; has not been given to the attacker (*dnd*), Set. 1407
- 260 'Victorious against' (*nht r*) gods. 1147(F 236)
- 261 The eye trickles (*ndfdf*) on the *dnw*-bush. 133, 695
- 262 Avenges (*nd*) Osiris the king. 67
- 263 The eye is to avenge king as it avenges Horus. 901
- 264 Eye of Horus which (is) in *Dp*, eye of Horus which (is) in Houses of Red Crown (*ht-wt-n-t*),<sup>166</sup> wakes (*rs*) in peace, having received the *yr-wt* that adorned the *ur-c*-chapel. 56
- 265 Causes that the Two Lands bow (*rdy-t ksy*) to king as they bowed to Horus, that they fear before (*ur n*) king as they feared before Set. 57
- 266 Serves to inspire fear in king's enemy. See 113(F 206), 249(F 153), 614(F 154)
- 267 Fear (*sgd*) arose because of (*hpr hr*) the eye. 1040
- 268 The eye *hbnbn*'s. 94, 107
- 269 Sits before (*hms-t hft*) king as his god. 57
- 270 Not distant from (*hr r*) king for ever and ever. 846
- 271 Protects (*hw*) king from . . . Set. 20(F 288)
- 272 Falls (*hr*) in east side of sky. 947(F 277)
- 273 Is king's *shnty*. 38
- 274 The eye (incense) is to purify (*s-(w)b*) king. 20
- 275 The eye *snw*'s not against king. 94
- 276 [Illumines (*s-hd*) tip of fin]ger of Set. 48
- 277 The eye, and king with it, turns (*stp*) and falls (*hr*) in east side of sky. 947
- 278 When it has seen Thoth, the eye turns and falls upon Thoth's wing in yonder side of Lily Lake, to protect itself (*y-nd-s d-t-s*) from Set. 594
- 279 Eye of Horus (Egypt or some part thereof) hearkens to (*sdm n*) Horus only, doing for him everything which he says to it wherever he goes, carrying (*f3*) to him the swamp-waters, all the wood, the food, the drink-offerings, everything, which is or shall be in it.<sup>167</sup> 1589-92
- 280 King is this eye of Horus<sup>168</sup> which sleeps (*sgdr-t*), is conceived (*ywr-t*), and is born (*ms-t*) every day. 698N
- 281 The eye cuts not (*sc*) against Osiris the king. 87
- 282 King goes (*sm*), going as the eye of Horus (goes). 976
- 283 Eye of Horus, as incense, is higher and greater than (*k3-t c3-t r*)<sup>169</sup> king. 116
- 284 The eye is king's *ky-t*. 737(F 149)
- 285 Is upon king (*tpy-t-k*). 2076(D 144)
- 286 Unites with (*dmy m*) Horus. 2072
- 287 Is to unite with (*dmy r*) king, with his flesh. 844(F 151)

<sup>166</sup> These "eyes" stand parallel to *T3y-t* and *T3yt(y)-t*.

<sup>167</sup> Parallel passage 1599-1602 has Nut (mentioned in 1596) hearkening to and serving the king.

<sup>168</sup> TP have "Re."

<sup>169</sup> Or "is high and great upon." Breasted suggests both.



**F. Eye of Horus—**

- 288 Eye of Horus (incense) removes (*dr*) the (odor of) king's moisture (*rdw*) and protects him from the flood of the 'region' of Set (*hw·š tw m<sup>c</sup> 3gb n<sup>c</sup> n Štš*). 20
- 289 Attack (*gnd*) of eye of Horus falls (*hr*) against his enemies. 2072
- 290 See also 2087(D 193) and the epithets in F 1-17

**VI. PARTS AND ACCESSORIES OF THE EYE**

- 291 The doors (*š·w*) which are upon the eye of Horus (Egypt or some part thereof) stand like *Ywn-mw·t·f*, and open not (*wn*) to Westerners, Easterners, Northerners, Southerners, nor those in the midst of the land, but (only) to Horus; for Horus made and erected them and rescued (*nhm*) them from every ill which Set did against them. 1593-94
- 292 Beings (*wn·w*). 901(F 2)
- 293 Falcon (*byk*) came forth from (or 'as'?) eye of Horus. 1843
- 294 [Thoth saw the waters (*mw*)] which (were) in the eye of Horus. 43
- 295 Osiris the king is to unite (*y<sup>c</sup>b*) to himself the waters which (are) in the eye. 72
- 296 Osiris the king is to take (*m*) the waters which (are) in the eye. [43], [47]
- 297 Waters. See also 451(F 82)
- 298 King is to fill himself with the ointment (*md·t*) which came forth from the eye, that it may fasten (*ts*) his bones, unite (*dmq*) his members, bring together (*š3k*) his flesh, and loose (*šfb*) his evil sweat to earth. 1800-1801
- 299 King is to take (*m*) 'adornment' (*nhb·t*) of the eye. 104
- 300 Foot (*rd*) of the eye of Horus (eye here is the king) is limited (*qr*) wherever it is.<sup>170</sup> 976
- 301 Forehead (*h3·t*). 2090(F 319)
- 302 Osiris the king is to take (*m*) pupil (*hwn·t*)<sup>171</sup> which is in the eye of Horus. 93
- 303 'Throats' (*ht(y)·w(t)*). 451(F 82)
- 304 Osiris the king is to take *hph* of the eye of Horus. 79
- 305 Osiris the king's mouth is opened (*wp*) by *hph* of the eye. 12
- 306 Osiris the king is to take the *šwt·t* of the eye of Horus. 64, 81
- 307 A band of green and of dark red linen (*ššd pw ny w3d·t n(y) ydmy*) was spun (*šf3*) from the eye. 1202
- 308 The odor (*št(y)*) of his eye is upon (*r*) Horus. 2072
- 309 Horus *pd*'ed with (*m*; or 'in'?) odor of his eye. 19, 1754
- 310 Odor of the eye of Horus is upon (*r*) king. 20, 1803, 2074, 2075
- 311 Odor of the eye of Horus is upon king's flesh. 1241
- 312 Odor of the eye of Horus (incense) *pdpd's*<sup>172</sup> to king. 18
- 313 Osiris the king is to take upon himself the odor of the eye. 1754
- 314 Osiris the king is to equip (*htm*) himself with odor of the eye (incense). 19
- 315 Odor. See also 1643(F 9)

<sup>170</sup> Similar passages in 622 and 625 refer to king directly, and declare that his foot is *not* limited.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. 206(A 57).

<sup>172</sup> Breasted: "'adheres'."

F. Eye of Horus—

- 316 Its 'tnf' was made for the eye of Horus.<sup>173</sup> 1756  
 317 Colors (*tr·w*). 451(F 82)  
 318 Head (*'d<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>*) of eye of Horus was given, that it might see (*m<sup>3</sup>*) Horus. 2088  
 319 A head was given to the eye of Horus, and a forehead (*h<sup>3</sup>·t*) was made for it out of crown of Re's head (*wp·t*). 2090

VII. SYMBOLISM OF THE EYE OF HORUS. IT REPRESENTS

- 320 *3mδ*-accepter.<sup>172</sup> 43  
 321 (Wine of) Nebesheh (*Ym·t*).<sup>174</sup> 93WN  
 322 Wine (*yrp*). 36, 39  
 323 Wine of Nebesheh (*yrp-Ym·t*). 93T  
 324 Wine of the Delta (*yrp-'ydh·w*). 92, 106  
 325 Wine of '—' (*yrp-<sup>c</sup>bd*). 92T  
 326 Wine of '—' (*yrp n h<sup>3</sup>mw*). 93T  
 327 Wine of Pelusium (*yrp-Syn*).<sup>176</sup> 94T  
 328 Every sweet 'thing' (*'y<sup>h</sup>·t' nb·(t) bnr·t*). 100, 111  
 329 *Ykd*-fruit. 95  
 330 Barley (*yt*). 97  
 331 'Incense' (*yd·t*). 77  
 332 (Wine of) '*bd*'. 92WN  
 333 Seed-grain (*'g·t*).<sup>178</sup> 109  
 334 Green cosmetic (*w<sup>3</sup>dw*). 54  
 335 *W<sup>c</sup>h*-grain.<sup>177</sup> 99, 105  
 336 Rolls of linen (*wnh·w*). 57  
 337 *Wr·t*-'cakes'. 103  
 338 *Wrr·t*-crown. 845  
 339 King's soul (*b<sup>3</sup>*) and control (*sh<sup>h</sup>m*). 758  
 340 *B<sup>3</sup>h<sup>3</sup>·t*-'grain'. 98, 104  
 341 The olive-tree that is in Heliopolis (*b<sup>3</sup>k·t ymy·t Ywnw*). 118  
 342 *Bd*-natron.<sup>178</sup> 72

<sup>172</sup> Text reads



Breasted renders: "... which 'Set' made ..."

<sup>174</sup> On *Ym·t* as Nebesheh see Petrie, *Nebesheh and Defennah*, p. 6 and Pls. X, XI.

<sup>176</sup> On *Syn* as Pelusium see Spiegelberg in *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, XLIX, 81. These and many following items of the offering-ritual are discussed by Bollacher in von Bissing, *Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, II, 37-40, as well as in Budge's books based on Maspero and Dümichen (cf. notes *passim*).

<sup>178</sup> See references in *Gemnikai*, II, 39. Bollacher there reads '*g·t*'; but Erman (*Gram.*<sup>3</sup>) gives under *Schrifttafel* S 47 the value '*g*', not '*3*'.

<sup>177</sup> *W<sup>c</sup>h*-grain is made into '*h<sup>3</sup>·t*'; see Newberry, *Rekhmara*, Pl. XII and p. 35. Other references also are in *Gemnikai*, II, 39.

<sup>178</sup> Budge (*Liturgy of Funerary Offerings*, 111) calls *bd* "incense," though the vignette which he reproduces shows



as determinative.



## F. Eye of Horus—

- 343 *P<sup>3</sup>·t*-cakes. 78  
 344 *P<sup>3</sup>·t-wd<sup>3</sup>·t*-cake. 35N  
 345 An offering-cake (*p<sup>3</sup>·t n·t wdn*). 35W  
 346 A mortuary offering (*pr·(t r) hrw*). 58  
 347 A royal mortuary offering. 59  
 348 *Psn*-loaves. 74  
 349 'Liver' (*m(y)s·t*). 82, 88  
 350 Water (*mw*). 10  
 351 *Mnw*-jars. 33  
 352 Dove (*mnw·t*). 86  
 353 Raiment of the god (*mnh·t-n(r)*). 42  
 354 King's pyramid (*mr*) and mortuary temple (*ht·t-n(r)*). 1277(F 234)  
 355 Black cosmetic (*m·šdm·t*). 54  
 356 *Mdw*-staff. '43'  
 357 *Nbs*-fruit. 98, 104  
 358 *Np<sup>3</sup>·t*-fruit or grain. 87, 109  
 359 Spleen (*nnšm*). 83  
 360 *Nhb·t*-scepter. '43'  
 361 *Nhnm*-oil. 51  
 362 Natron (*ntry*). 23  
 363 Every fruit (*rnp·t nb·(t)*). 100, 111  
 364 *Rnn-wt·t*-linen. 1755, 1794  
 365 '—' (*h<sup>3</sup>tr* or *tr*). 66  
 366 A breast of meat (*h<sup>3</sup>·(t)-y(w)f*). 84  
 367 (Wine of) *h<sup>3</sup>mw*. 93WN  
 368 Prime olive oil (*h<sup>3</sup>ty·t-thnw*).<sup>179</sup> 54  
 369 A limb (*h<sup>c</sup>*). 83  
 370 *Hbnn·t*-fruit'. 76, 94, 107  
 371 A (drink)-offering or libation (*hnk·t*). 100, 112  
 372 Beer (*hk·t*). 39, 40, 61  
 373 The offering of the broad hall (*htp-wšh·t*). 59, 103  
 374 A royal offering (*htp-(ny)-šw·t*). 58, 59  
 375 Temple-income (*htp-ntr*, with food 'determinatives'). 115  
 376 The White Crown (*hd·t*). 1234(F 152)  
 377 An altar (*h<sup>3</sup>(w)·t*). 58  
 378 A joint of meat (*hpš*). 12, 79  
 379 *Hnfw*-fruit'. 76, 95  
 380 *Hnmš*-beer.<sup>180</sup> 61, 89  
 381 '*Hrhnf*'-fruit'.<sup>181</sup> 108

<sup>179</sup> On *h<sup>3</sup>nw* as "olive," see Newberry in *Ancient Egypt*, 1915, pp. 97-98. This is one of seven oils prominent in the Old Kingdom. The Metropolitan Museum (New York) possesses in its Old Kingdom collection a rectangular alabaster tablet with the seven oil-cups each properly inscribed. There are three similar tablets in the British Museum; see Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, I, xiii-xiv.

<sup>180</sup> Pyr. writing would indicate *h<sup>3</sup>nšm*; but the true reading is proved by variants listed by Dümichen in *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, I. Abt., Pl. XXIV, No. 92. Cf. also the word *šmš*, with *š* written before *m* in Pyr. 274 and 1166.

<sup>181</sup> Probably intended for *h<sup>3</sup>nfw* (F 379); note relation of *h<sup>3</sup>bnn·t*-series (F 370).

F. Eye of Horus—

- 382 A *s·t*-goose. 85  
 383 A libation (*s³t*). 1840  
 384 Wheat (*swt*). 97  
 385 'Butter or cheese' (*srw*).<sup>132</sup> 31  
 386 A joint of meat (*shnw*).<sup>133</sup> 38, 80  
 387 A *š³·t*-garment. 41  
 388 A joint of meat (*šw·t*). 64, 81  
 389 *Šft*-oil. 51  
 390 (Wine of) Pelusium (*Šyn*).<sup>134</sup> 94WN  
 391 Incense (*šntr*). 18, 19 (cf. 1644a), 20-21a (cf. 1644b), 29, 116, 1643  
 392 A *šh·t*-staff. 46  
 393 *šš·t*-fruit'.<sup>134</sup> 96, 108  
 394 *Šc·t*-loaves.<sup>135</sup> 87  
 395 The terror (*šc·t*) inspired by king. 900  
 396 *Šns*-bread. 64  
 397 Libation (*kbbh*). 22-23  
 398 *Kmh*-loaves.<sup>136</sup> 77  
 399 Bread (*t³*). 61, '64W'  
 400 The king's bread. 63(F 200), 217  
 401 Baked bread (*t³ š³r*).<sup>136</sup> 78  
 402 '—' bread (*t³ yth*). 60, 73  
 403 'Fresh' bread (*t³ w³d*). 107  
 404 *Nbs*-bread (*t³-nbs*).<sup>137</sup> 99  
 405 '—' bread (*t³ syf*). 86  
 406 *Tw³w·t*-oil. 51  
 407 The choicest of the (food)-offering (*tp(y·t)-w³h·t*).<sup>137</sup> 114  
 408 *Ttw*-bread. 60, 73  
 409 This 'bright red' (*tmšš·t*) (crown?), equated with king, who is then equated with the eye. 1460  
 410 '—' (*tr* or *h³tr*). 66  
 411 Figs (*d(³)b*). 110  
 412 A *dp·t*-loaf. 38  
 413 The Red Crown (*dšr·t*). 901(F 17)  
 414 Red jars (*dšr·wt*). 249

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Budge (*Liturgy*, 67, 158, 211), following Maspero and Dümichen. The former prefers "butter" (Coptic

CAIPE

in Gen. 18:8), the latter "cheese." See Dümichen's discussion (*Patuamenap*, I, 19-20).

<sup>133</sup> Budge (*Liturgy*, 82-84, etc.) renders "breast."

<sup>134</sup> But Bollacher takes *šš·t* (later *šh·t*) for grain, and Maspero thinks it nuts.



<sup>135</sup> Distinction between two words *šc·t*, one standing for cakes and the other for loaves, is remarked by Erman, *Zur äg. Wortforschung* (I), p. 15.

<sup>136</sup> On reading the *t* of this and the following references in its original value of *t³*, "bread," cf. the variants of *t³ syf* and *t³-nbs* given by Dümichen in *Patuamenap*, I, Pl. XXIV, No. 86, and Pl. XXVI, No. 112.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Kamal in *Ann. du Serv.*, XII, 240.



**F. Eye of Horus—**

- 415 Adornment (*db*<sup>3</sup>), 1 'bšy<sup>3</sup>w<sup>1</sup>-kilt.<sup>188</sup> 41  
 416 Milk (*dšr·t*).<sup>189</sup> 61, 88  
 417 'Theban milk' (*dšr·t-W*<sup>3</sup>š·t<sup>1</sup>). 89  
 418 Food: bread and beer(   ). 60, 72  
 419 A barque. 1227(F 97)  
 420 Egypt or some part thereof. 1588-96(F 91, 57, 92, 279, 291, 85; C 94)  
 421 The king's head. 830(F 125)  
 422 The king himself. 698 etc. (F 130)  
 423 Cf. also the mystic names in F 18-26.

The eye of Horus is distinctly equated with the items of the preceding list, which therefore omits many objects mentioned in the funerary ritual.<sup>190</sup> The list may be summarized as follows:

Food: Breads, cakes, grains, meats, fowl, 'butter or cheese', fruits.

Drink: Wines, beers, water, 'milk'.

Unguenta.

Cosmetics.

Clothing.

Insignia: Crowns, scepters, staves.

Incense.

Libations.

Natron.

General terms for offerings.

Attributes or possessions of the king:

His head.

His soulhood and control.

His terror (that inspired by him).

His pyramid and mortuary temple.

The king himself.

Miscellaneous:

Olive-tree in Heliopolis.

Willow-tree.

Altar.

W<sup>3</sup>g-feast.

Barque.

Whole or part of Egypt itself.

H<sup>3</sup>tr or tr.

**VIII. Two Eyes of Horus**

- 424 King is to take (*m*) the two eyes of Horus, the black and the white, to illumine his face. 33  
 425 Osiris the king is to take the two eyes of this great one and be satisfied with them (*htp hr·šn*). 103

<sup>188</sup> Cf. label of such an object on coffin of Mentuhotep (Steindorff. *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reichs*, Pl. III).

<sup>189</sup> Sethe's rendering, quoted by Breasted.

<sup>190</sup> E.g., those identified with "the šak which came forth from Osiris" (Pyr. 37, 39, 90, etc.).

**F. Eye of Horus—**

- 426 Geb has caused that Horus give his two eyes to Osiris the king, that latter may be satisfied with them. 583
- 427 'King's son' as Horus has come bringing (*yny*) the two bodily eyes of Horus to king to lead latter [to firmament unto Horus, to sky unto the] great [god, and to avenge] him on all his enemies. 69-70
- 428 ['King's son' as Horus brings to king the two eyes of] Horus, which rejoice latter's heart (*pd·t(y) yb·f*). 71
- 429 King, after punishing his enemies with one of the eyes of Horus, returns it and causes that Horus see with both his eyes. 1240
- 430 Cf. also 96(F 166, 184), 108(F 166, 116), 253(E 11)

**IX. UNRESTORED FRAGMENTS ALLUDING TO THE EYE**

- 431 Eye mentioned in broken passages. 1923, 2166

**G. Other Mythological References to Horus—**

- 1 King has looked to Horus, Set, *Y<sup>3</sup>rw*, and the two *tt·ty-yb* as Horus looked to (*m<sup>33</sup> n*) Isis, as *Nhb-k<sup>3</sup>·w* looked to Selket, as Sobk looked to Neit, as Set looked to the two *tt·ty-yb*.<sup>101</sup> 487-89
- 2 Isis found her Horus and conducted his arm to Re to horizon. 741
- 3 Isis the Great bound on the girdle (*ts·t mdh*, scil. upon her son) in Khemmis, bringing her 'censer' (*d<sup>3</sup>yš*) and burning incense (*ydy*) before her son Horus the young child (*hrd nhn*), that he might journey over the land in his two white sandals, going to see his father Osiris. 1214-15
- 4 Horus and his mother Isis each brought (*yny*) the other's heart (*yb*). 1640
- 5 Isis. See also 1199(G 17)
- 6 The cow that crosses the lake (*nm·t 'š<sup>3</sup>*) leads king to great seat born of the gods, born of Horus, begotten of Thoth (*yš·t wr·t yr·t-ntr·w yr·t-Hr wt·t·t-Dhwtj*). 1153
- 7 Horus opened mouth of Osiris with the adze of metal . . . 13-14(E 86)
- 8 Mouth of Osiris was opened (*wp*) by his beloved son Horus. 179
- 9 King's mouth is opened by Horus with his little finger (*db<sup>c</sup> ndš*) wherewith [he] open[ed] the mouth of his father Osiris. 1330
- 10 Libations (*kbb·w*) of Osiris (here the king) came forth (*pr*) from his son Horus. 22
- 11 Osiris was caused to *šdb* and to live by his various relatives: Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Isis, Nephthys, and Horus, as well as by the great and the little divine enneads as a whole; but as for his brothers Set and Thoth, he was caused to *šdb* and to live and to punish (*ss*) them. 167-78
- 12 These (the text preceding) are the two charms (*ts·wy*) of Elephantine which were in mouth of Osiris, which Horus uttered (*ts*) concerning the vertebra (*bkšw*). 234
- 13 Osiris ferried over to the firmament on a pair of reed floats (*shn·w*), with his son Horus beside him (*yr db<sup>c</sup>·wy·fy*, lit. 'at his two fingers') on another pair to sustain (*snh*) him and cause him to dawn (*rdy h<sup>c</sup>·f*) as great god in the firmament. 464-65

<sup>101</sup> In the cases of Horus, *Nhb-k<sup>3</sup>·w*, and Sobk at least, the looking is to the mother, apparently for sustenance and help.



## G. Other Mythological References to Horus—

- 14 Horus avenged (*nd*) his father Osiris. 573(C 101), 758, 898(C 102), 1406(D 204)
- 15 Horus avenged his father. 633 and 1637(B 8), 1685(E 74), 21[91](D 27)
- 16 Horus made (*yry*) a *wd<sup>3</sup>-t*-garment for his father Osiris. 740
- 17 Osiris commended (*wd*) Horus to Isis on that day when he made her pregnant (*s-ywr*). 1199
- 18 Going forth (*pr-t*) of Osiris the king from his house is the going forth of Horus in embrace (*m shnw*) of Osiris the king. 1539
- 19 King's going (*sm-t*) is like the going of Horus to his father Osiris, that thereby latter might become a spirit and a soul, receive obeisance, and gain control. 1730
- 20 King's goings are the goings of Horus in embrace (*m shnw*) of his father Osiris.<sup>192</sup> 1860
- 21 Horus performed a crossing of the lake (*nm-t-<sup>3</sup>š<sup>3</sup>*)<sup>193</sup> for his father Osiris the king. 1550
- 22 King's 'equipment' (*špd*) is upon him (*tp-f*), which Horus gave to Osiris. 1559
- 23 'Priest' (1st per.) brings (*yny*) to and puts on (*((w)d(y) n*) king the green cosmetic (*w<sup>3</sup>d<sup>3</sup>w*) which Horus put on his father Osiris. 1681-82
- 24 Horus embraced (*shn*) his father Osiris, (when) he found him upon his side in *Ghšty*. 1799
- 25 Horus gave life (*rdy-f <sup>c</sup>n<sup>h</sup>*) to his father, [presented] satisfaction (*[<sup>3</sup>w-f] w<sup>3</sup>š*) to Osiris, before (*m hnt*) the Western gods. 1980
- 26 Osiris. See also 742(F 39), 956(E 28), 970(E 162), 971(D 251), 974-75(D 252), 1215(G 3), 1558(E 24), 1824(E 105), 2115(E 163)
- 27 The *šw* of the Southern Palace (*pr wr*) runs for the Great One (Horus, cf. 853b); the Northern Palace flees before him (*rw n-k pr nsr*). 852
- 28 Earth is bidden to hear what Geb said (when) he was glorifying Osiris (here the king, cf. 1012a) as a god, (when) the watchers (*wrš-w*) of Pe made offering (*wdn*) to him and the watchers of Hieraconpolis honored (*š<sup>c</sup>h*) him like (*yš*) Sokar, 'Horus, *H<sup>3</sup>*, and *Hmn*'. 1013
- 29 Watchers. See also 795(G 39)
- 30 The Two Truths (*m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup>-ty*). 317(G 54)
- 31 Horus bound (*mr*) himself to his offspring (*mšyy-t* etc.). 647
- 32 Morning-star, Horus of Dewat etc. is entreated to give to king his two fingers which he gave to the Beautiful One (*nfr-t*), daughter of the great god (*ntr <sup>c</sup>*) at separating (*wp-t*) of sky from earth, even at ascending (*pr-t*) of the gods to the sky, he being a soul (*b<sup>3</sup>*) and dawning in the bow of his ship (described under D 282). 1208-9
- 33 *Nhy*-serpent. 663(D 292)
- 34 The great god (*ntr <sup>c</sup>*), some solar deity. 1208(G 32)
- 35 Eastern gods (*ntr-w y<sup>3</sup>bty-w*). 1209(D 282)
- 36 Western gods (*ntr-w ymnty-w*). 1980(G 25)
- 37 Gods of Pe. 1209(D 282)

<sup>192</sup> Cf. with the foregoing 768, etc. (D 8-9).

<sup>193</sup> Cf. 1153(G 6). Ferryman is called *nm <sup>3</sup>š<sup>3</sup>* in 1224.

G. Other Mythological References to Horus—

- 38 The gods in general. 795(G 39), 957(G 44), 1217(E 91), 1658(G 57)
- 39 Earth is bidden to hear what the gods said and Re said (when) he was glorifying king that latter might receive his spirithood before the gods like (*yš*) Horus, son of Osiris, when he (Re) was giving him (Horus) his spirithood which is among the watchers of Pe and was honoring him as a god among the watchers of Hieraconpolis (N repeats 'Pe' instead). 795
- 40 Horus expelled (*hšr*) Re from the south (*rš·t*) of the sky. 2158
- 41 Nile (*H<sup>c</sup>py*). 2047(C 79)
- 42 Horus crushed (*tbb*) with his foot (*tbw*) the mouth of the *hf<sup>3</sup>w*-serpent, trapper of the phallus (*hb-hnn*). 681
- 43 Orion (*Š<sup>3</sup>h*). 261(E 21)
- 44 Set is bidden to remember and take to heart (*(w)d(y) yr yb·k*) the speech of Geb and the threat (*f<sup>3</sup>w*) which the gods made against him in the Prince-house in Heliopolis because of his felling (*ndy*) Osiris to earth, when Set said: "I did not do this against him," that he might prevail (*šhm*) thereby over (*n* for *m*?) Horus. 957-58
- 45 Horus took (*yly*) estate (*pr*) of his father from his father's brother Set before (*m b<sup>3</sup>h*) Geb. 1219
- 46 The first body (*h·t*) of the 'company' (*ydr·wt*) of the triumphant (*m<sup>3c</sup>-hrw*) was born before the attack (*dnd*) took place, before the voice arose, before the reviling (*šnt·t*) occurred, before the conflict (*hnnw*) began (verb in each of these four phrases is *hpr*), before the eye of Horus was plucked out (*kny*), before the testicles of Set were wrenched off (*š<sup>3</sup>d*). 1462-63
- 47 Set. See also 850(D 160), 971(D 251)
- 48 Shu. 317(G 54)
- 49 *Šnt*-serpent. 681(C 80)
- 50 King is Horus who came forth from acacia (*šnd*) upon being commanded: "Guard thyself, O lion (*s<sup>3</sup>w tw rw*)!"<sup>65</sup> 436
- 51 Horus followed and loved Geb, while latter dawned as King of Upper and Lower Egypt controlling all the gods and their kas. 1625-26
- 52 Geb. See also 317(G 54), 957(G 44), 1219(G 45)
- 53 The Two Lands (*t<sup>3</sup>·wy*) bowed before Horus and feared before Set. 57 (F 265)
- 54 King as Horus, the heir of his father, triumphs (*m<sup>3c</sup> hrw·f*) through that which he did. *Tfn* and *Tfn·t* have judged (*w<sup>d</sup><sup>c</sup>*) him; the Two Truths have held the (legal) hearing, with Shu for a witness, and have commanded that there revert to (*phr n*) him the thrones (*nš·wt*) of Geb. 316-17
- 55 The great cavern (*tph·t wr·t*) of Heliopolis was opened (*wn*) for Horus of Letopolis (*hnty Hm*). 810
- 56 *Db·t-nhh·wt*. 522(D 235)
- 57 Thoht put (*(w)d(y)*) the gods beneath Horus ... in the audience-hall (*d<sup>3</sup>d(w)*) and the 'court of justice' (*(w)d(y)-m<sup>3c</sup>*). 1658
- 58 'Horus made a sitting' — — —, that the judgment might take place (*hpr w<sup>d</sup><sup>c</sup>-mdw*). 2088
- 59 Miscellaneous. See also 378(D 156), 551(D 289), 854(D 55), 905(E 90), 2094(E 174)



## H. Miscellaneous—

## I. USED IN TITULARY

- 1 "Horus" a designation used in royal titulary. [6], 7a, 8, 786
- 2 "Harakhte" thus used. 7b
- 3 "*Hr 'šhm m' Nbtj*" thus used. 6-8 and 786(A 85)

II. DOUBLE HORUS<sup>12</sup>

- 4 Two green Horuses (*Hr·wy w<sup>3</sup>d·wy*), in obscure connection. 457
- 5 Double Horus (*Hr·wy*), presider over estates (*šnty·wy pr·w*), lord of food (*nb-df<sup>3</sup>·w*), great one (dwelling) in Heliopolis (*wr (y)m(y) Ywnw*), is asked to give bread and beer to king and to make flourish (*š·w<sup>3</sup>d*) the king, his offering-table (*wdhw*), and his butchering-block. 695-96

## III. FEASTS, ETC.

- 6 King celebrates his year(ly feast)s (*rnp·wt*)<sup>124</sup> 'in Field of Rushes' like (*my*) Horus, son of Atum. 874
- 7 King is to rejoice (*h<sup>3</sup>by*) at every feast (*hb*) of Horus. 1672
- 8 Seasons (*y·tr·w*) of Harakhte. 1693(C 57)

## IV. BROKEN PASSAGES UNRESTORED

- 9 ——— like (*my*) Harakhte.<sup>125</sup> 1384
- 10 ——— life for Horus. 1825
- 11 Horus has put for himself ———. 1857

<sup>124</sup> That *pry rnp·wt* here means "celebrate yearly feasts" rather than "spend years" is shown by comparison with 1950, where *pr·n·(y) rnp·wt·k* appears. This again is paralleled by *pr·n·(y) tp(y)·w-ybd·w·k (šmd·wt·k resp.)* in 657.

<sup>125</sup> This phrase does not appear in 347, whence part of the context is restored.

## SUPPLEMENT

### *Offspring of Horus*

#### NAMES

\* Not expressly called "children" or "offspring" of Horus.

*H³py*, *Dw³-mw·t·f*, *Ymsty*, and *Kbh-šn·w·f*. \*149, \*552N, \*1092, \*1097, \*1228N, 1333, 1339, \*2101

*H³py*, *Dw³-mw·t·f*, *Kbh-šn·w·f*, and *Ymsty*. \*552TM

*H³py*, *Ymsty*, *Dw³-mw·t·f*, and *Kbh-šn·w·f*. \*1228PM, 1548, \*1983

*Ymsty*, *H³py*, *Dw³-mw·t·f*, and *Kbh-šn·w·f*. \*601, \*1483, 2078

#### OCCURRENCES

See C 23-26,<sup>100</sup> also individual names in Appendix.

#### CLASSIFIED REFERENCES

##### A. Epithets—

- 1 *fdw ypw y³h·w*, "these four spirits." 1092(C 8)
- 2 *fdw ypw ntr·w mš·w-Hr mr·f*, "these four gods, the children of Horus, his beloved." 1548(E 5)
- 3 *fdw ypw rh·w ny-šw·t . . . mšw·t-Hr Hm(y)*, "these four royal intimates, . . . offspring of Horus of Letopolis." 2078

##### B. Magical or Mystic Name—

- 1 [*t(w)t·w*, "the assembled ones."] 1983

##### C. Relationships—

###### I. GENEALOGICAL

- 1 Filial relation to Horus is summarized in C 23-26.
- 2 Are grandchildren of king. 1983(E 7)

###### II. POSITION OCCUPIED IN RELATION TO OTHER DIVINITIES

- 3 Are souls (*b³·w*) of Horus. 2101(D 208)
- 4 Are king's right side, which is in Horus; while *H(w)-dndrw*, *Hnty-w³d·wy·fy*, Nephthys, and *Hnty-'n-yr·ty'* are king's left side, which is in Set. 601
- 5 Are with king as he is ferried over to Field of Rushes. 1092(C 8)
- 6 Are royal intimates. 2078(A 3)

###### III. RELATIONS ON PART OF OTHER DIVINITIES

###### a) Actions

- 7 Horus uses his children to aid king. 24(E 137), 619(E 101), 637(E 102, E 10), 766(E 137), [1828](E 138), [1829](E 102, E 10)
- 8 *Hr·f-h³·f* is bidden to ferry these four spirits over to Field of Rushes as comrades of king, two on each side. 1092

<sup>100</sup> This and similar citations in Roman type refer to the treatment of Horus proper; italics indicate citations from this Supplement.



**C. Relationships—***b) Position Occupied*

- 9 King is called their father. 1333(*E 3*), 1340(*E 11*)
- 10 King controls them (*šhm ym·sn*). 1828(*E 138*)
- 11 King has joined himself with them. 647(*C 24*)
- 12 King is identified with each of them individually. 1097
- 13 King is one of these four gods. 1483

*c) Attitude*

- 14 Horus loves them. 1548(*E 5*)

**D. Nature—****I. ATTRIBUTES AND POWERS**

- 1 Are gods. 1483(*C 13*), 1548(*E 5*)
- 2 Are spirits (*y³h·w*). 1092(*C 8*)
- 3 Live on truth (*m³c·t*). 1483

**II. HABITAT**

- 4 Are bidden to bring (for king's ascent) the barque "Eye of Khnum" which is in the Lily Lake (*mr n h³* in P; but MN have *mr pw n htm*, 'this lake of the *htm*-bird'). 1228
- 5 Are ferried over with king to Field of Rushes (*šh·t-y³r·w*). 1092(*C 8*)
- 6 Guard land of Upper Egypt (*t³ šm·c*). 1483

**III. ATTITUDE TOWARD OTHER DIVINITIES**

- 7 Have loved king. 647

**IV. PARTS OF BODY**

- 8 *db·c·w*, fingers. 1983(*E 7*)

**V. EQUIPMENT**

- 9 Lean (*tw³*) upon their *d·c·m*-staves. 1483<sup>197</sup>

**E. Activities (All in Behalf of King)—**

- 1 Count (*yp*) for him. 24 and 766(*E 137*)
- 2 Have smitten his enemy and made red his blow, have punished him and suppressed him of the evil odor (the enemy). 643
- 3 Are to protect life of (*štp s³·nh hr*) their father Osiris the king from him who would cause that he suffer (*šdb*) in presence of the gods. 1333
- 4 Are to smite Set and avenge Osiris the king on him. 1334
- 5 That which is in slayer of the king in the hinder parts is for these four gods, the children of Horus, his beloved. 1548
- 6 Bear (*wts*) king. 619(*E 101*)
- 7 King's assembled grandchildren have raised (*ts*) him, [washed his face], 'checked' (*y·h*) his weeping, and opened his mouth with their wondrous (*by³·w*) fingers. 1983

<sup>197</sup> Cf. 339 (note 97).

**E. Activities (All in Behalf of King)—**

- 8 Expel hunger from belly and thirst from lips of king. 552
- 9 Bring to king his name of "Imperishable (*y·hm-sk*). 2102(D 208)
- 10 Betake themselves under king, without any of them escaping, and carry (*f*<sup>3</sup>) him (in ascent?). 637, 1338, 1823, 1829
- 11 Are to carry and lead (*šm*) their father Osiris the king (in ascent?). 1340
- 12 *H<sup>3</sup>py* and *Dw<sup>3</sup>-mw·t·f* are the king's arms, enabling him to ascend at will to the sky; and *Ymšty* and *Kbh-šn·w·f* are his legs, enabling him to descend at will to the underworld (*nn·t*). 149
- 13 Bring to king the barque "Eye of Khnum" (for ascent). 1228(D 4)
- 14 Rise before (*h<sup>c</sup> n*) king and bind for him a rope-ladder whereon he ascends to Kheprer in east side of sky. 2078-79
- 15 Are to recite "chapter of the king (*r<sup>3</sup> n yt(y)*)" for him. 1334

**F. Mythological—**

- 1 Cf. references under E above, in most of which the king is clearly identified with Osiris.
- 2 Possibly cf. 258d: "The gods of East and West are satisfied with the great thing which came to pass in the embrace of the offspring of the god (*mšw·t-n(r)*)." This may refer to the *mšw·t-Hr*, for epithet *ntr* stands independently for Horus (A 41).



## APPENDIX

### INDEX OF OCCURRENCES OF DIVINE NAMES IN THE PYRAMID TEXTS

- Y3mw.t*: 131
- Y3hš* (= *R3hš* and *Yhš*): 994
- Yc̣h*: 732, 1001, 1104
- Yw.š-3.š* (Saosis): 1210
- Ywn-mw.t.f*: 1593(F 291), 1603 Cf. 571
- Ymn* (Amon): '1540' Cf. 446, 1095, 1712N
- Ymšty*: 149(D 180, *E 12*), 552(*E 8*), 601(*C 4*), 1092(*C 8*), 1097(*C 12*), 1228(*D 4*), 1333(*E 3*), 1339(*E 11*), 1483(*C 13, D 3, D 9, D 6*), 1548(*E 5, D 136*), 1983(*E 7, B 1*), 2078(*A 3, E 14*), 2101(D 208)
- Ynpw* (Anubis): 57, 135, 157, 220, 468, 574 (cf. *C 101*), 592, 727, 745, 793, 796-97, 804, 806-08, 896-97, 1014, 1015(*C 85-86*), 1019, 1122, 1162, 1180, 1257, 1282, 1287, 1295(D 88), 1335(*E 59*), 1364, 1380, 1523, 1537, 1549, 1552, 1564, 1672, 1676, 1713, 1723, 1833, 1867, 1995, 2001 (cf. *D 50*), 2012, 2026, 2069, 2150, 2178, [2184], 2198
- Yhš* (= *Y3hš* and *R3hš*): 1476
- Yh.t*: 179, 188-91, 198(*C 1*), 1147, '1992', '2030'
- Yh.t-wt.t*: 198(*C 1*), 791, 1503, 1729, 2068, 2110
- Yš.t<sup>46</sup>* (Isis): 3, 32, '123', 155(*E 121*), 164, 172(*G 11*), 205, 210, 371, 379, 489(*G 1*), 556, 577, 584(*C 52, E 62*), 592, 606, 610, 628, 630, 632(*C 19*), 707, 734, 741(*G 2*), 744, 755, 872, 898(*C 102*), 939, 960, 996, 1004, 1089, 1140 (*C 96*), 1154, 1199(*G 17*), 1214(*E 3, G 3*), 1255 (cf. *C 51*), 1263, 1265(*E 180*), 1272(*E 181*), '1278', 1280-81, 1292, 1302(*D 151*), 1347, 1358, 1362, 1375, 1464, 1472, [1521], 1547, 1630, 1634, 1635(*C 19*), 1640(*G 4*), 1655, 1703, 1750, 1873, 1886, 1951, 1964, 1973, 1981, 1997, 2009, 2089, 2098, 2144, 2188, 2192 Cf. *F 144*
- Yšyr<sup>46</sup>* (Osiris, name used independently): 13(*E 86*), 16, 17(*D 191*), 22(*G 10*), 29 (king's name omitted by error), 31, 39, 57, 62, 63, 105, 117-18, 134, 144 (*C 4, D 22*), 145(*C 59, E 178*), 146(*E 179*), 155(*E 121*), 161, 167-78(*G 11*), 179(*G 8*), 186, 215, 218 and 222(*D 78*), 234(*G 12*), 251, 308 and 312(*F 144*), 313, 350 (n. 145), 364, 443, 464(*G 13*), 466(*C 89*), 467(*D 224*), 472(*E 112*), 493(*E 4*), 517, 520(*D 201*), 523, 549, 573(*C 101*), 574, 622, 625, 658, 684(*D 14*), 691, 722, 740(*G 16*), 742(*F 39*), 749, 752, 754, 757, 758(*G 14*), 759, 778, 788, 790, 793, 795(*G 39*), 819, 826, 832, 848, 865, 872, 882-84, 895(*C 99*), 898 (*C 102*), 899, 925, 956(*E 28*), 957(*G 44*), 960, 963, 964 and 966-68 (n. 57), 970(*E 162*), 971(*D 251-52*), 972, 984(*D 48*), 988(*D 65*), 1004-5 (cf. *C 27*), 1012, 1013(*G 28*), 1033, 1035, 1044, 1068, 1090, 1122(*D 89*), 1128(*E 5*), 1157, 1194-95, 1199(*G 17*), 1201-2, 1215(*G 3*), 1232, 1236, 1256, 1258-59, 1264(*E 180*), 1267(*E 181*), 1280, 1282, 1291, 1297-98, 1328, 1330(*G 9, C 90*), 1354, 1358, 1360, 1362, 1368, 1392-93, 1395, 1406(*C 5*), 1419, 1428, 1448, 1450(*F 142*), 1486-87, 1500, 1502, 1505(*C 83*), 1516, 1520-21, 1523, 1525, 1549 (n. 72), 1551, 1556, 1558(*E 24*), 1559(*G 22*), 1567, 1643(*F 56*), 1655,



1657, 1658(C 5), 1665-66, 1672, 1681-82(G 23), 1683, 1730(G 19), 1748, 1761, 1799(D 261), 1800, 1803, 1804(E 146), 1833, 1860(G 20), 1882, 1978 (C 54), 1980(C 5), 2000, 2007, 2010, 2016, 2021-22, 2031, 2051, 2054, 2055 (n. 117), 2068, 2076, 2092, 2097, 2103(C 103), 2105, 2108, 2111, 2115(E 163), 2144, 2201 Cf. 8, 1142, 1256

*Yšyr* (Osiris, in apposition with name of king<sup>198</sup>): 8, 12, 15, 18, 19, 21, 24, 25, 30, 35-37, [43-44], [46-48], 50, 51, 54, 55, 59-61, 64-68, 72-103, 106-7, 110, 111, 113-15, 117, [249], 575, 582-83, 586, 590, 609, 612, 618-19, 626, 634, 636, 640, 645, 648, 651, 737, 765, 775-78, 786, 825, 831, 847, 849, 939, 960, 966aN (name of king added by error), [1002], 1003, [1004], 1012, 1046, 1069, 1142 and 1256 (name of king added by error), 1258-59, 1262, 1333-35, 1337-43, 1379-80, 1382, [1383-84], 1385, [1386], 1523, 1531, 1539, 1544, 1550, 1607, 1609-10, 1615-16, 1619-20, 1622, [1623], 1683, 1685-86, 1696-1700, [1708], 1753-56, 1787-88, 1794-95, 1798, 1805-10, 1812-14, 1817, 1819, 1822, 1824, [1826], 1828, 1830-31, 1838-40, 1870, 1872, 1894, [1899], 1973, 1975, 1986, 2033

*Ytm* (Atum): 124, 135, 140, 145(C 59), 147, 148-49(D 180), 151-52, 154, 156, 158, 160, 167(G 11), [199], 207, 211(C 22), 212-13, 229, 241, 258(D 138), 261, 301(D 263), 304, 305(D 210), 380, 395, 425, 447, 479, 492, 518, 603-5, 701, 840, 843, 874(H 6), 879, 881(D 56), 942-43, 961(D 86), 992, 997, 1173, 1237, 1241, 1248, 1277, 1297-98, 1302(D 151), 1347, 1376, 1447, 1451, 1466, 1473, 1475(D 87), 1489(D 25), 1521, 1525, [1546], 1587, 1617, 1645-47, 1652-56, 1660, 1686(E 145), 1694-95, 1742, 1778, 1818, 1870-71, 1982, 1984, 2009, 2024, 2057, 2065, 2081-82, 2098, 2146, 2163

*ꜥndty*: 220, 614, 1833 Cf. 182

*Wšd·t* (Buto): 702, '792', 1671, 1875 (n. 50)

*Wp-wš·wt*: 126, 455, 463, 769, 953(D 232), 1009, 1011, 1066, 1090, 1287, 1304, 1374, 1379, 1438, 1638, 1979(E 173), 2032(C 98) Cf. 57, 643, 1215, 1239, 1806<sup>199</sup>

*Wng*: 607, 952(C 110)

*Wnt* (error for *Swnṯw*): 1094M

*Wšr·t*: '270'

*Bšby*: 419, 502, 515-16, 1310, 1349 (n. 84)

*Bššty·t* (Bast): 892, 1111, 1310

*Pth* (Ptah): 560 and 566(D 207), 1482

*Flk-tš*: 120, 123, 545

*Mš-hš·f*: 383, 597, 599, 925, 1222, 1227(F 97), 1769

*Mš·t*: 319, 323, 1580, 1768, 1774 Cf. 265, 1306, 1429, 1483, 1775, also duals in 317, 1315, 1785

*Mšfd·t*: 230, 438, 440, 442, 677, 685, 1212(D 255)

*Mw·t*: '123', '734'

*Mnw* (Min): 256, 424, 953(D 232), 1712 (cf. 1013), 1928(D 76), 1948, 1993 (C 105), 1998

*Mntw*: '724', 1081, 1378

*Mhnty-yr·ty* (= *Hnty-yr·ty*): 601, 826, 1265(E 180), 1431, 1864

<sup>198</sup> For citations in thesis, see Horus-treatment *passim*, especially §§ E and F.

<sup>199</sup> Wolf erect on standard is found also as determinative of *wpyw* in 1913, of *nwš* in 13, of *šib* in 804 and 1015, and of *šmš·w-Hr* in 921 and 1245.



*Mhnty-<sup>1</sup>n-yr·ty<sup>1</sup>* (= *Hnty-<sup>1</sup>yr·ty<sup>1</sup>*): 771

*N(y)·t* (Neit, orig. *Nr·t*): 489(G 1), 510, 606, 1314, 1375, 1521, 1547

*Nyw*: 207, 446 Cf. *nyw*, "ostrich," in 469

*Nw·t*: 1-5, 7, 8, 25, 171(G 11), 208, 250(C 72), 275, 299, 383, 441, 459, 519, 530, 541, 543, 580, 597, 603, 616, 623, 626, 638, 698, 741, 756, 765, 777-80, 786, 802(E 108), 823(C 56 and n. 91), 824-25, 827, 834, 838, 842, 883, 902, 933, 941, 990, 1016, 1021, 1030, 1036, 1048 (n. 77), 1049, 1082, 1090, 1101, 1145, 1149, 1169, 1173-74, 1184, 1188, 1213(C 8), 1247, 1291, 1300, 1311, 1321, 1328, 1332, 1341, 1344, 1361, 1405, 1416-17, 1422, 1426, 1428, 1430, 1454, 1471, 1479, 1516, 1521, 1546, 1596(n. 167), 1607, 1629, 1655, 1664, 1688, 1702-3, 1720, 1758, [1833], 1835, 1895, 1960, 2028, 2034, 2037(D 62), 2041, 2052, 2057, 2091, 2107, 2150, 2171, 2178, [2206]

*Nwnw* (Nun): 132, 237, 268, 310, 314, 318-19, 392, '426-27', 551, 593, 603-4, 606, 871-72, 1034, 1040, 1057, 1078, 1166, 1174, 1304, 1446, '1460'(n. 84), 1486, 1517, 1525, 1678, 1691, 1701, 1778, 1780, 1964, 2037, 2147

*Nb·t·ht·t* (Nephthys): 3, 150, 153(E 121), 164, 174(G 11), 203, 210, 371, 379, '444'(E 7), 556, 577, 584(E 62, C 52), 601(C 4), 606, 610, 616, 623, 628, 630, 707, 755, 872, 898(C 102), 939, 960, 996, 1004, 1089, 1154, 1255(cf. C 51), 1265(E 180), 1273(E 181), 1278, 1280-82, 1292, 1347, 1354, 1362-63, 1375, 1427, 1464, 1547, 1630, 1634, 1655, 1750, 1786, 1873, 1951, 1973, [1981], [1997], 2009, 2098, 2144, 2192 Cf. F 144

*Nfr·tm*: 266, 483

*Nny* and *Nnw*: 310, 314, 445, '670' Cf. verbs in 138, 163, 428, 541, 1595-96, 1605

*Nn·t*: 207, 446, 1691

*Nhb·k<sup>3</sup>·w*: 229, 340(n. 97), 346(C 35), 356, 361, 489(G 1), 1146, 1708 Cf. 161, 311, 315, 512, 2040

*Nhb·t*: 696, 1229, 1451 Cf. 4, 123

*R<sup>3</sup>hš* (= *Y<sup>3</sup>hš* and *Yhš*): 1476

*R<sup>c</sup>* (Re): 6-8, 34, 37, 120-24, 128, 130, 132, 136, 145(C 59), 152, 154, 156, 158, 160, [199], 200 and 209(cf. D 28), 226, '227', 231, 263, 266-69, 273-75, 285, 310, 313-14, 328(C 112), 336, 337(D 31, D 36), 340(n. 97), 346(C 35), 348 (C 58), 351(D 32, D 36), 356-57, 358(D 32, D 36), 362(D 45), 366-68, 370, 372(E 94), 390(E 111), 392, 442, 449(D 162, cf. E 41), 452(B 4), 460-61, 470, 472(E 112), 473(E 166), 482-83, 490, 495, 517, 519(E 95), 531, 534, 542-43, 546, 560 and 566(D 207), 585, 597, 598(D 82), 599, 602, 607, 621, 636, 673(D 249), 698(F 280), 702(C 113), 703, 706, 709-11, 713, 721, 726, 730, 732-33, 741(G 2), 743, 750, 756-57, 760, 762, 787, 792, 795(G 39), 800(C 82), 804(C 85), 812-13, 819, 855-56(D 223), 886-89, 891, 893, 906, 915, 918-19, 922-23, 926(D 32), 927(D 37), 932(D 32), 933(D 37), 948, 950, 951(C 118, cf. A 48), 952(C 110), 953(D 232), 955, 971(D 251), 974-75(D 252), 990, 999-1000(D 39), 1016(E 160), 1029, 1044-45, 1049(D 60), 1063, 1084-86 (D 34), 1087(C 127, cf. E 169 and D 266), 1091, 1103(D 33), 1107-8, 1141-42, 1167, 1169, 1171, 1178-80, 1204, 1206, 1231, 1238, 1244(E 170), 1246, 1247(E 96), 1261, 1263, 1299, 1316-18, 1343, 1345, 1347, 1359, 1372, 1405, 1421, 1423, 1425, 1430(D 67), 1437, 1440, 1442, 1449, 1461, 1464, 1465 (E 118), 1469-70, 1471(n. 61), 1479, 1481, 1492-95(E 119), 1496-98, 1500, 1503, 1508(C 84), 1517, 1518(D 12), 1531-32, 1540, 1542, 1568, '1572',



[1574], 1582, 1669, 1679, 1686(E 145), 1687-88, 1692, 1694-95, 1705, 1709, 1719(C 86), 1720, 1734, 1739, 1759, 1773-74, 1785, 1802, 1808, 1835, 1862 (D 200), 1863(C 104), 1877, [1887], 1906, 1991, '2005', 2019, 2025, 2028, 2035 (cf. D 29 and D 62), 2045 (cf. D 40), 2047(C 79), 2048, 2062, 2077, 2090(F 319), 2095, 2158(G 40), 2169, 2172, 2174, [2175], 2183, 2206, 2208, 2212<sup>200</sup> Cf. 137a, 1212, 1355 Cf. D 221

*Rnn-wt-t*: 302, 454(C 121) Cf. 1755, 1794

*H<sup>3</sup>*: 1013(G 28), 1712

*H<sup>3</sup>-f-m-h<sup>3</sup>-f*: 517

*H<sup>3</sup>py*: same occurrences as *Ymsty*, *q.v.* Cf. also 279

*H<sup>3</sup>py* (Apis): 286, 1313, 1998

*Hyhy*: 1390

*Hmn*: 235, 1013(G 28)

*Hrw* (Horus): 4-8, 10-14, 17-22, 24-29, 31-33, 35, 36, 38-40, 42, [43], 44, 45, [46-47], 48, 51, 52, 54-61, 63-74, 76-89, 91-101, 103-111, 113-18, 133, 135, 138-39, 141-46, 148, 159, 176, 179, 192, 195, 198, 206, 211, 216, 218, 222, 234, 244-45, [249], 250, 253, 257-58, 261, 295-96, 301, 304, 308, 312, 316, 330-31, 337, 342, 346, 348, 351, 353, 358, 360, 362, 372, 378, 390, 418, 436, 444, 449-50, 457, 465-67, 472-73, 480, 487, 489, 493, '502', 503, 518-20, 522, 525-28, 534-35, 551, 555, 560, 566, 573, 575, 577-87, 589-92, 594-96, 598, 600-601, 607, 609-15, 617-20, 632-37, 640-51, 653, 659, 663-64, 670, 673, 678-79, 681, 683-85, 695, 698, 702, 723, 734, 737, 740-42, 746, 758, 765-68, 770, 786, 793, 795, 798, 800-801, 804, 810, 815, 823, 830-31, 841, 844, 846, 850, 853, 855-56, 874, 877, 881, 888, 891, 895, 897-98, 900-901, 903, 905, 921, 926-28, 932-34, 943, 946-48, 951, 953, 956, 958, 961, 969-71, 973, 976-77, 981-83, 986-87, 994, 999, 1007, 1010-11, 1013, 1015-16, 1025-27, 1030, 1036, 1040, 1048-49, 1067-68, 1084-89, 1103, 1113, 1122, 1129, 1131-32, 1134, 1136, 1140, 1147-48, 1153, 1176, 1199, 1202, 1207, 1214, 1219, 1227, 1231-35, 1237, 1239-45, 1247, 1254, 1257-59, 1264, 1268, 1277, 1285, 1293-95, 1301-2, 1320, 1327, 1330-31, 1333-35, 1338-39, 1354-55, 1373, 1375, 1384, 1406-15, 1429-30, 1436, 1449-50, 1458, 1460, 1463, 1465, 1471, 1475, 1478, 1489, 1492, 1505, 1507-8, 1518, 1539, 1548, 1550, 1558-59, 1570, 1588-89, 1594, 1596, 1609, 1612, 1614, 1622, 1625, 1627, 1632-33, 1636-37, 1640, 1642-43, 1657-59, 1668, 1672, 1681-83, 1685, '1686', '1690', 1693, 1702, 1710, 1712, 1715, 1719, 1728, 1730, 1733-35, 1742, 1753-56, 1794-95, 1798-1800, 1803-8, 1813, 1823-25, [1826-28], 1831-32, 1838-40, 1843, 1857-58, 1860, 1863, 1881, 1915, 1923, 1928, 1945, 1951, 1959, [1976], 1978-80, 1988, 1993-94, 2011, 2019, 2032-33, 2036-37, 2046-47, 2050, 2056, 2062, 2071-72, 2074-76, 2078, 2087-91, 2094, 2099-2101, 2103, 2106, 2115, 2147, 2158, 2166, 2185, 2190-91, 2202, 2213<sup>201</sup> Cf. 917a, also *Ht-t-Hr*

*Hr-f-h<sup>3</sup>-f*: 383, 999, 1091(C 8), 1201, 1227(F 97), 1441, '1585' Cf. 493

*Hs<sup>3</sup>-t*: 1029, 2080

*Hk-t*: 1312

<sup>200</sup> *R<sup>c</sup>* occurs also *passim* in the royal names *Mryy-R<sup>c</sup>* (later throne-name of Pepi I), *Mr-n-R<sup>c</sup>*, and *Nfr-k<sup>3</sup>-R<sup>c</sup>* (throne-name of Pepi II).

<sup>201</sup> *Hr* occurs also in the name *Nfr-s<sup>3</sup>-Hr*, early throne-name of Pepi I, which stood originally in 868c, etc. See Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, I, xli, and Möller in *Zeitschrift für äg. Sprache*, XLIV, 129.



*Hkn-wt-t*: 288

*Ht-t-Hr* (Hathor): 466(C 89), 546, 705, 1278 Cf. 1025-27(D 58), 1327(D 59)

*Hd-t-wt-t*: 900

*H<sup>c</sup>y-t<sup>3</sup>w*: 242, 423, 518

*Hpr*: 199, 305(n. 110), 888, 918, 1210, 1445, '1546', 1587, 1652, 1695, 1757, 1874, 2079(E 14), 2083, [2206] Cf. noun "beetle" in 366, 561, 570, 697, 1301(D 3), 1633, 2107, also *dbh hpr* in 1771 and 1777

*Hnsw*: '402' Cf. verb in 130, 456, 748, 798, 881, 1049, '1306', 1510, 1984

*Hnty-Ymnty-w*: 57, 133(C 61), 139(F 161), 220, 474, 592, 650, 745, 759, 811, 818, 869, 1145, 1393, 1746, 1748, 1833, [1851], 1942, 1996, 1999, 2021, 2198 Cf. 1666

*Hnty-'yr-ty'* (= *Mhnty-'yr-ty'* etc.): 17(D 191), 148(D 180), 771, 826, 832, 1211, 1270(E 181), 1367, 1547, 1670, 2015, 2086

*Hnty-'n-yr-ty'* (= *Hnty-'yr-ty'*): 601(C 4), 771

*Hnmw* (Khnum): 445, 524, 1227(F 96), 1228, 1238, 1769

*Hrty*: 350(n. 145), 445, 545, 1264(E 180), 1308, 1547, 1557, 1905<sup>202</sup>

*Swntw*: 1019, 1094, 1152, 1250

*Sp<sup>3</sup>*: 17(D 191), 27-28(D 267), 244, 254, 425, 444, 663, 669, 1613(D 284) Cf. 1098, 1452, 1470, 2069

*Skr* (Sokar): 241, 445, 620, 990, 1013(G 28), 1256, 1289, 1356, 1429, 1712, [1824], 1826, 1968, 1998, 2042, 2069 Cf. B 2, B 5, C 97

*S<sup>3</sup>h* (Orion): 151, 186, 261(E 21), 408, 723, 802(E 108), 819-21, 882-83, 925, 959, 1436, 1561, 1717, 2116, 2172, 2180 Cf. 1763

*Sbk*: 456(D 155, D 275, n. 67), 489(G 1), '507', 510, 1564

*Spdw*: 148(D 180), '270', 480, 994, 1476, 1863(C 104) Cf. 201, 1159, 1534

*Spd-t* (Sothis): 151, '270', 341, 357, 363, 458(n. 49), 459, 632(B 6, C 19), 723, 822, 929, 935, 965, 1082, 1123, 1152, 1428, 1437, 1482(n. 49), 1561, 1636 (B 6, C 19), 1707

*Srk-t* (Selkis): 183, '227', '234', 489(G 1), 1061, 1273, 1314, 1375PM, 1427, 1435, 1469, 1547 Cf. *Srk-t-htw* in 606, 673(D 249), 1375N

*Shm-t*: 262(n. 83), 1547

*S<sup>3</sup>sw*: 426

*S<sup>3</sup>t*: 616

*Sk<sup>3</sup>n*: '498', 1440, 1734(C 93), '2186'

*St<sup>3</sup>* (Set): 14(E 86), 17(D 191), 20(F 288), 26(E 88), 27-28(D 267), 36 and 39(F 111), 48(F 115, F 276), 57(F 265), 61(F 110), 65(F 90), 73(F 117), 84(F 246), 88(F 110), 95(F 83), 128, 135(D 75), 141(A 6), 142(D 168, C 21), 144(C 4, D 22), 153(E 121), 163, 173(G 11), 204(D 23), 205(D 274), 211(C 22), 218 and 222(D 78), 261(E 49), 294, 390(E 111), 418(F 66), 473(E 166), 480(D 79), 487(D 81), 489(G 1), 518(D 129), 535(D 198), 575-76(E 56), 580, 581(E 50, cf. E 78), 587(E 73), 591(F 51), 592(E 70), 594(F 30, F 278), 595-96(F 100), 598(D 82), 601(C 4), 678(E 14), 679(F 67), 683(D 17), 685(C 77), 734(D 108), 746(E 97), 770(D 83), 777, 793(C 67), 798(D 9), 801, 823(C 56, n. 91), 826, 832, 850(D 160), 865, 915-16, 943 (D 84), 946(F 98), 948(D 85), 957-58(G 44), 959-60, 961 (D 86), 971(D 251),

<sup>202</sup> *Hrty* appears later in proper names also, e.g., *St-Hrty* and *St-t-Hrty* on Brit. Mus. stela No. 224 and *Hrty-m-s<sup>3</sup>-f* on No. 308 (*Hierogl. Texts* . . . , II, Plates 28 and 29, XII. and XIII. Dyn. respectively, both from "Sams Collection, 1834").



972, 974-75(D 252), 979, 994(D 80), 1016(E 160), 1033, 1035, 1067, 1145, 1148(E 104, C 69), 1150, 1219(G 45), 1233(F 107), 1236, 1242(F 204), 1256, 1258, 1259(C 67), 1264(E 180), 1269(E 181), 1285(C 66), 1309, 1334(E 4), 1407(F 259), 1453, 1459, 1463(G 46), 1465(E 118), 1467, 1475(D 87), 1487, 1493(E 119), 1500, 1521, 1556, 1594(F 291), 1595(F 85), 1612(D 284), 1628, 1632(E 55), 1655, 1667, 1699, 1710(C 68), 1715(D 9), [1735](D 75), 1742(F 226), '1756'(F 316), 1839(F 218), 1904, 1906, 1928 (D 76), 1993, 1999, 2038, 2047(C 79), 2071(D 258, F 35), 2099(D 77), 2100(E 175), 2162, [2213](F 107) Cf. A 85; F 106, 109, 113-14, 116, 179-80, 183-84; n. 65

*Šty·t* (Satis): 812, 1116

*Šw*: 5, '123', 125, 168(G 11), 208, 275, 288, 294, 299, 313, 317(G 54), 324-25, '427', 447, 519, 531, 552-53, 593, 603-4, 677, '692', 784, 842, 1022, 1039, 1066, 1090, 1101, 1121, 1151, 1247-48, 1353, 1421-22, 1425, 1430, 1443, 1454, 1471, 1521, 1546, 1553, 1569, 1615, 1652, 1654-55, 1661, 1691, 1739, 1817, 1870-72, 1953, 1985, 1992, 2053, 2065, 2091(F 119-20), 2099

*Šsmw*: 403, 545, 1552(n. 72)

*Šš*: 1329, 2080 Cf. 127, 2154

*Kbh-šn·w·f*: same occurrences as *Ymšty*, *q.v.*

*Kbh·t*: 687, '792', 1180, 1285, 1348, 1564, 1749, 1995, 2103

*G<sup>3</sup>swt(y)*: 2080

*Gbb* (Geb): 1-3, 7-9, 80, 101-2, 138, 139(F 121), 144(C 4, D 22), 162, 170(G 11), 218, 231, 255, 258, 277, 301(D 263), 308, 312, 316, 317(G 54), 324, 398, 439, 466(C 89), 477, 480(D 79), 483, 541, 576-78, 583(F 426), 590 and 612(C 62), 626, 634(C 62), 639, 640(C 63), 649, 655, 657, 675, 698, 779, 783, 787, 793, 796, 840, 843, 895(C 99), 942-43, 957(G 44), 961, 967, 973(D 234, C 91), 977 (F 59), 993, 1012, 1013(G 28), 1014, 1018, 1030, 1032-33, 1039, 1045, 1115, 1120, 1142, 1149, 1163, 1175, 1195, 1204, 1210, 1219(G 45), 1235, 1259, 1264, 1277-78, 1296, 1300, 1321, 1327, 1343, 1353(D 269), 1367, 1395, 1448, 1465, 1475(D 87), 1489(D 25), 1494(E 119), 1510, 1513, 1521, 1538, 1540, 1546, 1596, 1615, 1616(n. 61), 1620(cf. C 76, G 51), 1627, 1643(F 48), 1645, 1649, 1655, 1663, 1672, 1689, 1710, 1713, 1727, 1810-11, 1814, 1830, 1833-34, [1868], 1883, 1971, 1986, 1992, 2014, 2087(F 122), 2096, 2103(C 103), 2111, 2113, 2132, [2141], 2145, 2169 Cf. E 11 and n. 54

*T<sup>3</sup>y·t*: 56(F 264), 738, 741 Cf. 737(F 149), '816', 1642(F 150), 1794 and 2074 (F 249)

*Tby*: 290, '1394'

*Tfn*: 317(G 54)

*Tfn·t*: 5, 169(G 11), 288, 317(G 54), 447, 552-53, 779, 842, 990, 1066, 1248, 1353, 1405, 1443, 1521, 1546, 1652, 1654-55, 1662, 1691, 1739, 1985, 2053, 2065, 2099

*Dw<sup>3</sup>w*: 480, 994, 1155, '1480'

*Dw<sup>3</sup>-wr*: 1329, 1428, 2042

*Dw<sup>3</sup>-mw·t·f*: same occurrences as *Ymšty*, *q.v.*

*Dw<sup>3</sup>-ntr* (Morning-star): 132, 357, 631, 732, 805, 929, 935, 1001, 1104, 1123, 1207(D 61; cf. G 32, D 282, D 255, D 181, E 3, E 91-92, E 167, E 142), 1295(D 88), 1366, 1372, 1707, 1719, 2005, 2014 Cf. *šb<sup>3</sup>-dw<sup>3</sup>w* in 871

*Ddy*: 673(D 249, cf. E 14), '1070'





*Dden*: 803, 994, 1017, 1476, 1718

*Dnn-wt-t*: 321


*Drt*: 486, 700

*Dhwtj* (Thoth): 10, 16, 17(D 191), 27-28(D 267), [43](F 294), 58(F 124, 126, 128), 126, 128, 130, 157(E 121), 163, 175(G 11), 329(C 112), 387, 420, 468, 519(E 95), 535(D 198), 575(E 56), 594(F 278), 595-96(F 100), 635, 639, 651(E 57), 709, 796, 830(F 125), 956(E 28), 962, 976(F 258), 1089(D 285), 1153(G 6), 1176(D 175), 1233, 1235, 1237, 1247(E 96), 1254, 1265(E 180), 1271(E 181), 1305, 1336(E 59), 1377, 1429(E 117, D 119), 1465, 1507(D 287), 1523, 1570(D 152, cf. E 144), 1613(D 284), 1658(G 57), 1713, 1725, 1979 (E 60), 1999, 2118, 2150, 2213(F 127)

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 : 905P(E 90)

  : 2080

 : in *l-m-s³·f*, throne-name of Mernere, *passim*

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